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J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW

VOLUME I

KLAUS BRUHN, THE JINA-IMAGES OF DEOGARH

LEIDEN
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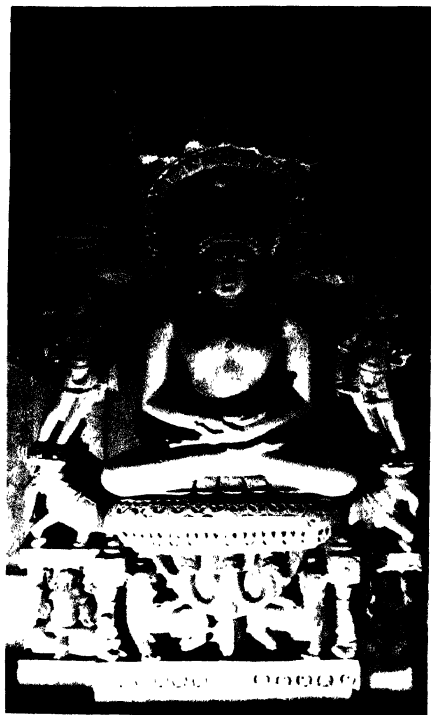
'Now the image is but a ruin of what it was' (p. 171)

THE JINA-IMAGES OF DEOGARH

BY

KLAUS BRUHN
Professor of Indology in the
Freie Universitat Berlin

With 297 Photos, numerous Drawings
and 4 Folding Maps

LEIDEN
E. J. BRILL
1969

The photo on the dust-cover shows four Jina images standing in the open air (behind Deogarh Temple No. 12)
See Figs. 124, 150, 176, 243

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

In memory of

M. B. GARDE

EDITOR'S PREFACE

The monuments at Deogarh have been known for almost a hundred years, but in spite of the fact that the site appears to have been a very rich centre of Jaina religious art which produced an immense amount of most important archaeological and art-historical material, these Jaina antiquities have drawn but scant attention as compared with that devoted to the "Gupta" Temple at the same place.

At one time there existed between 35 and 40 Jaina shrines at Deogarh ranging in date between the middle of the 9th and the 2nd half of the 11th century. But even after that, the site remained an important centre of creative activities for another hundred years during which many sculptural works of art came into existence.

Although the Jaina temples present some interesting architectural aspects, the images are far more important for different reasons. One of these is the fact that their number lies somewhere between 1000 and 1100, offering the style-critic a tremendous source of raw material. It is this treasure-house of mediaeval sculpture which forms the main subject of Professor Bruhn's monograph, though he has not omitted to bring together all the relevant historical and archaeological information regarding the site of Deogarh and its architectural monuments, adding new material and evidence found by himself.

Faced with this staggeringly large number of images the author developed a method of style-criticism which he explains in greater detail in Part III of his book.

However, the Jaina sculptures of Deogarh are not only of great significance because they present us with a vast amount of research material. Their artistic quality is equally important as many of Professor Bruhn's fine illustrations testify. In fact, several images at Deogarh should be counted among the best examples of Indian sculpture and the beauty of the marvellous Jina figure No. 13 (Figs. 28 and 30), with its unforgettable, serene expression, is equal to that of the world-famous Buddha of Sārnāth. It is no doubt one of the greatest masterpieces ever created on Indian soil

Over the years Deogarh has unfortunately suffered a great deal of damage, both intentional and unintentional Well-meant or pious repairs to buildings and images, in the past as well as in recent times, callousness on the part of officials who at the end of the 19th century constructed the forest bungalow with material taken away from Temple No 1, and worst of all, art-robbery on a grand scale in recent years, have all contributed to the disappearance or destruction of important and irreplaceable art-historical evidence. Fortunately, Professor Bruhn worked at Deogarh in the years just before the art-thieves started their scandalous operations, and so, in addition to everything else, his book is a valuable document since it provides us with a time-exposure of the material at Deogarh immediately preceding the last catastrophe

My first, be it indirect, contact with Professor Bruhn was established when I went to Deogarh in the spring of 1956. On my way there, I was offered a meal in the hospitable home of a Jaina family in the tiny hamlet of Jākhlaun. It was then that I was shown a picture of "the German student", who had been devoting so much time to studying "their" monuments at Deogarh.

My second, more direct contact with this research project took place in 1964 when the University of Hamburg requested me to examine the manuscript which Dr. Bruhn, at present Professor of Indology in the Freie Universität Berlin, had submitted for his "Habilitation". The idea of publishing the manuscript in an English translation which arose at that time, has now materialized by the appearance of this book as the first volume in the series "Studies in South Asian Culture" published by the Institute of South Asian Archaeology of the University of Amsterdam.

It seems a happy coincidence that the book appears on the tenth anniversary of the Institute under whose auspices the result of this important piece of research is now published.

J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN - DE LEEUW
Director of the Institute of South Asian Archaeology

University of Amsterdam, autumn 1969.

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[1] In the case of some of the chapters, subdivisions (in italics) were found necessary. But apart from Chapter 17 these do not cover *all* the paragraphs of the respective chapters. — For the use of the asterisk refer to § 273

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PREFACE

This study of the Jina-images of Deogarh, Central India, drew its inspiration from a suggestion made by Dr. U. P. SHAH whom I visited in Baroda in 1954. In the same year I travelled to Deogarh and was at once convinced that a study of the Jain temples there would be most rewarding. Two extended visits in the course of the years immediately following (1955 and 1956) gave me the opportunity to collect material for this study. The actual task of evaluating it only began following my return to Germany. It soon became evident that if the material were to be worked through *in toto* this would more likely result in a catalogue than a monograph, and for this reason only part of the material has been treated, i.e. *the Jina-images*. A fourth visit in 1963 served as the final check.

Unfortunately there have been many changes since 1957. In the year 1959 hundreds of images in many localities in Central India, including Deogarh, were mutilated by art-thieves. The main-figures were decapitated and in many cases the subsidiary figures appearing on the slabs had been removed altogether. As a counter-measure the Deogarh temples were locked and some images placed in the nearby "Dharmshala" (pilgrims' lodging). However much the efforts made by the Jain community responsible for the Deogarh temples may deserve our gratitude, there is no denying the fact that India's art treasures cannot be protected on the spot. Only effective measures against their illegal export can prevent them diminishing still further.

The present study was made possible because of a two-and-half-year scholarship granted by the Government of India and I should like to express my thanks for this at this point. In this connection my gratitude also goes to the Deccan College, where I was working, for their understanding in granting me leave of absence in order to further this project. Similarly, my thanks go to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for their grant of a fifteen-month research scholarship following my return from India. The help given by the Archaeological Survey of India and its then Director, Shri A. GHOSH, was most valuable. Not only did I have the opportunity of obtaining numerous photographs from the various branches of the ASI, but a member of the Central Institute's Staff was assigned to me and he did the necessary work of taking estampages of the Deogarh inscriptions. In addition I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. H. V. TRIVEDI, who was at that time Director of Archaeology in Madhya Bharat, and to my colleague Prof. H. HARTEL, Director of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, for providing photographs. I was able to obtain copies from the rich collection in the Gwalior Museum from Dr. Trivedi, whilst Prof Härtel made a considerable number of photographs available to me which had been taken in India but a short time before. In this connection I should also like to thank M. RAYMOND BURNIER[1] who made some of his rare photos — all hitherto unpublished — available for publication in the present work.

With regard to the research itself, my thanks first go to Dr. U. P. SHAH and Dr. D. C. SIRCAR Dr. Shah did not only — as has previously been mentioned — inspire me to embark

[1] Burnier (*July 6th, 1912) met with an untimely death on September 29th, 1968 at Zagarolo near Rome

on the present work — he also aroused my interest in Indian iconography. The publication in 1959 of his monograph on the Akota bronzes was of the greatest importance with regard to this present study. Dr. Sircar who was at that time Government Epigraphist for India in Ootacamund not only allowed me to make use of the estampages of Deogarh inscriptions available in his Institute which supplemented my own material to some extent but he also helped me to read the Deogarh inscriptions. Thanks to the trouble he took, and to the efforts of his staff who were no less helpful, light was shed in more cases than one on lines that would otherwise have appeared hopeless As the work progressed Dr. Sircar's doubts as to the *historical* value of the inscriptions proved to be justified. Nevertheless the inscriptions were of the utmost value with regard to the relative and absolute chronology of the monuments. My thanks for various suggestions with regard to the improvement of the present monograph go to my tutors, Professer SCHUBRING and Professer ALSDORF, and also to Professors E. WALDSCHMIDT and G. F. KOCH. I am especially grateful to Professor VAN LOHUIZEN - DE LEEUW, who included this book in the present series, went through the proofs and gave me the benefit of her advice on many points of detail. — The difficulties of translating this work are very obvious and I am greatly obliged to Mr. MICHAEL MC DONALD, B A., F. I. L., for having undertaken this task. My thanks also go to Mr. C. S PHATAK (Poona) and to Mr. HEINZ K. G. MAHNKE. Mr. Phatak went to Deogarh in 1956 to prepare the technical drawings (Figs. 392-94) which I required urgently. The engraver Heinz K. G Mahnke has placed his entire skill at my disposal while preparing the drawings (Figs. 296-389) which form a vital part of this work. That this book could be published in its present form is due to MESSRS E. J. BRILL (Leyden) who have spared neither trouble nor expense with regard to its printing.

Since I was largely thrown back on my own resources with regard to my fieldwork, the assistance given by the local Jain community not only facilitated the work, but also ensured that the preliminary tasks were concluded successfully. From the very first day the Shri Deogarh Managing Digambar Jain Committee gave their full support and I feel it a pleasant duty to express my sincere thanks to this body I am also deeply grateful to the following gentlemen for their hospitality and advice, and for the support they gave me in many ways: Shri A. K. TARAIYA, B.A , LL.B. (Lalitpur and Jhansi), Shri PARAMESHTHI DAS JAIN (Lalitpur) and Shri PARAMANAND BARAYA[1] (Lalitpur). In addition I am obliged for their assistance to various other members of the Jain community in Lalitpur as well as to Shri KUNDANLAL JAIN, M A , at Chanderi Last but by no means least I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Shri RAM DAYAL JAIN, Pujari of the Jain temples at Deogarh, whose hospitality I enjoyed during the periods I spent in the village.

No book is better than its individual sentences. Nevertheless the author hopes to be excused if inaccuracies have crept in here and there due to frequent rewriting. That the monograph is largely free from misprints is due to the co-operation of several members of the Seminar für Indische Philologie (Freie Universitat Berlin) who were so kind as to help in seeing the book through the press.

Berlin, 1968 KLAUS BRUHN

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[1] The restoration of the Jain temples will always be connected with the name of Barayaji A note on his life will be found in the Hindi Monthly *Anekant* (October 1968, pp. 174-176).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS[1]

Agra	(Followed by a figure:) Photo from the "Office of the Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Northern Circle, Agra"
Agrawala III	V S. Agrawala, Mathura Museum Catalogue, Part III, Jaina Tirthankaras and Other Miscellaneous Figures. Lucknow 1952 (= Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, Vol. 23, 1950.)
Ashton	The Art of India and Pakistan, ed. by Sir Leigh Ashton. London 1950.
ASIAR	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report. Cf. especially *1917-18, Pt. I
Banerjea	J. N. Banerjea, The Development of Hindu Iconography. 2nd ed. Calcutta 1956.
Banerji	R. D. Banerji, Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture (= Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol 47). Delhi 1933.
Berlin	(Followed by a figure.) Photo of the Museum fur Indische Kunst, Berlin.
Bhattasali	N. K Bhattasali, Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum Dacca 1929
Bhopal	(Followed by a figure·) Photo of the "Department of Archaeology, Central Circle, Bhopal."
Buhler	G. Buhler, Indische Palaeographie (= Grundriß der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde) Straßburg 1896.
Bühler, Tafeln	Plates accompanying Bühler's "Indische Palaeographie". The first (Roman) figure refers to the plate The Arabic and Roman figures following refer to the horizontal and vertical line thereby identifying the letter under discussion.
Chanda	R. Chanda, Medieval Indian Sculpture in the British Museum. London 1936.
Coomaraswamy	A. K. Coomaraswamy, Geschichte der indischen und indonesischen Kunst. Leipzig 1927
Cunningham	Archaeological Survey of India, Reports. Refer to Vols *2, *10, 21.
Day	U N. Day, Medieval Malwa Delhi 1965 See Preface, Chapter 16, App A, App D, and Bibliography
Dikshit	M. G. Dikshit's contributions in Vol. 2 of the "Heritage of Indian Art Series" ('Sirpur and Rajim Temples'). Bombay 1960
Distinction	Kl. Bruhn, Distinction in Indian Iconography (= Sushil Kumar De Felic. Vol pp 164-248). Poona 1960.
Ep. Ind	Epigraphia Indica.
Garde	*M. B Garde, Archaeology in Gwalior.
von Glasenapp	H von Glasenapp, Der Jainismus Berlin 1925.
Guérinot	A Guérinot, Répertoire d'épigraphie jaina, précédé d'une esquisse de l'histoire du jainisme d'après les inscriptions. Paris 1908.
Gwalior	(Followed by a figure·) Photo of the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior Fort.
Gwalior Gazetteer	Gwalior State Gazetteer, Vol. I, Part IV Photos or Views of Places of Historical and Archaeological Importance, by C. E. Luard Bombay 1908
Gwalior Report	*Annual Report of the Archaeological Department Gwalior State, 1923-24 — 1942-46.
Hargreaves 1915	Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1915, pp 4-5 and Appendix pp. VIII-IX.
Hargreaves 1916	. for the year ending 31st March 1916, pp. 16-17 and Appendix pp. I-II
Ind. Ant	Indian Antiquary.
Indore Gazetteer	The Indore State Gazetteer (revised and enlarged), Vol. II — Archaeology, compiled by L. C. Dhariwal. Indore 1931.

[1]) Works quoted but rarely are only included in the list if they bear a close relationship with the subject. Publications which are of special importance for the reader have been marked with an asterisk.

INI	D. R. Bhandarkar, A List of Inscriptions of Northern India in Brahmi and its derivative Scripts, from about 200 A C. (= Appendix to Epigraphia Indica Vols. 19-23).
Johrapurkar	V. P. Johrapurkar, Bhaṭṭāraka Sampradāya. Sholapur 1958.
Khajuraho	Kl. Bruhn, The Figures of the Two Lower Reliefs on the Pārśvanātha Temple at Khajurāho (= Ācārya Vijayavallabhasūri Comm. Vol. pp. 7-35 of the English Section). Bombay 1956
Kramrisch, Hindu Temple	St. Kramrisch, The Hindu Temple, Vols. I-II. Calcutta 1946.
Kramrisch, Art	St. Kramrisch, The Art of India through the Ages. London 1955².
Lalit Kalā	Lalit Kalā, A Journal of Oriental Art, chiefly Indian.
Lists I-III	Three lists of inscriptions. See „Hargreaves 1915", "Hargreaves 1916", and "Sahni".
Luard	*C E. Luard, A Bibliography of the Literature Dealing with the Central Indian Agency, to which is added a Series of Chronological Tables. London 1908.
Mārg Rajasthan	Mārg, Vol 12, Number 2 Rajasthani Sculpture.
MASI	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India Refer in particular to No. 70 (*M. S Vats, The Gupta Temple at Deogarh, Delhi 1952).
Mirashi	V V Mirashi, Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era. Pts. I-II. Ootacamund 1955.
Mukherji	*P. C. Mukherji, Reports on the Antiquities in the District of Lalitpur, N.-W Provinces, India. Vols I-II Roorkee 1899
Patil	*D. R. Patil, The Descriptive and Classified List of Archaeological Monuments in Madhya Bharat. Gwalior (1953?).
Patna	(Followed by a figure·) Photo of the "Department of Archaeology, Mid-Eastern Circle, Patna".
Pheru	*Ṭhakkura Pheru's Vāstusāra-Prakarana as edited by Pt Bhagvandas Jain. Jaipur 1939.
Raghubir Sinh	Malwa in Transition (First Phase 1698-1765) Bombay 1936.
Sahni	*D. R. Sahni, Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1918, pp 7 foll.
Sankalia	H D. Sankalia, Jain Monuments from Deogarh (= Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol 9/1941, pp. 97 foll)
Shah, Akota	*U. P Shah, Akota Bronzes Bombay 1959
Shah, Ambika	—, Iconography of the Jain Goddess Ambikā (= Journal of the Univ of Bombay, Vol. 9, Pt. 2, pp. 147-169)
Shah, Mahavidyas	*—, Iconography of the Sixteen Jaina Mahāvidyās (Journal of the Indian Soc of Or. Art, Vol 15, pp 114-177)
Shah, Roda	—, Sculptures from Śāmalājī and Roḍā Baroda (= Bull Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, Vol 13, 1960.)
Shah, Sarasvati	—, Iconography of the Jain Goddess Sarasvatī (= Journal of the Univ of Bombay, Vol. 10, Pt. 2, pp 195-218)
Shah, Studies	—, Studies in Jaina Art Banaras 1955
Smith	V. A. Smith, The Jain Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā (= Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series) Allahabad 1901
Thakore	S R Thakore, Catalogue of Sculptures in the Archaeological Museum Gwalior. Lashkar (no year).
Thapar	D. R. Thapar, Icons in Bronze. London 1961.
Vinayasagara	Muni Vinayasagara, Pratiṣṭhā Lekha Samgraha, Kota 1953.
Vogel	J Ph. Vogel, La Sculpture de Mathurā Paris et Bruxelles 1930.
Vogel, Cat.	—, Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura. Allahabad 1910
Zannas	*E Zannas and Jeannine Auboyer, Khajuraho 's-Gravenhage 1960
Zimmer	H Zimmer, The Art of Indian Asia, Vol II: Plates New York 1955

Basically the following serial publications which have only been partly touched upon above are of importance for the study of Central Indian art. State Gazetteers, District Gazetteers, reports of the various *circles* of the Archaeological Survey of India, and reports of the archaeological departments of the former states. For further literature the reader's attention is drawn to Sten Konow, Classified Catalogue of the Library of the Director General of Archaeology (Calcutta 1908), pp. 44-64. Refer also to the additions to pages 44-64 in Supplements I-III (Calcutta 1911, 1912, 1916).

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. The Jain temples of Deogarh (see the maps in Figs 390, 391 and 1) are scattered over the eastern part of the fort. They are 35-40 in number if all the shrines are included. The official number given is 31 The size of the buildings varies from the high tower-temple (No. 12) at one extreme to the small shrine (in which an adult cannot stand up) at the other. Only Temples Nos. 12 and 15, which both date from the 9th century and which represent different types of buildings, show architectural embellishment of any note. The remaining temples are quite plain apart from the door-frames (which are for the most part richly decorated) and the pavilions mentioned below which were added subsequently. The shape of the temples varies a good deal. There are only two temples which conform to the normal concept of the North Indian temple: No 12 and No. 28. In these cases the building consists of the substructure and a tower or śikhara of the contemporary pattern. The substructure comprises mainly the cella with the principal idol. The other temples consist for the most part of flat-roofed rectangular rooms without windows. We can call them "hall-temples". This type is seldom met with outside Deogarh Finally we have shrines with porches, a type of structure which is not uncommon in the Central India of the 7th-9th centuries. The few buildings which do not fall within these three groups are so varied in character that it is not possible to give a general description of their features. Besides the group of the Jain temples we also have in the fort area the ruins of a Visnu-temple from the 7th-8th centuries.

In the case of the Jain temples themselves the upper time limit of building activity is indicated by the oldest dated inscription (862 A.D.) There is no evidence which would lead us to suppose that important Jain temples and sculptures were in existence before the middle of the 9th century. The development of the architecture comes to a standstill in the 2nd half of the 11th century, that of the sculpture in the second half of the 12th century. Any work carried out subsequently is inferior both as regards quality and quantity. A limited revival in building activity was confined to the Bundela period when extensive repairs were carried out to the temples which had been severely damaged in the meantime and when *inter alia* small pavilions in the contemporary style were erected on the flat roofs of the temples. We do not know when the destruction took place nor is it possible to say whether this was the result of a single incident or of a whole series. Neither can we say whether a long period elapsed between the raid(s) and the repair-work.

§ 2. Of greater importance than the temples are the 1000-1100 images *in* the temples or in the open air. We have selected about three hundred of these and they are with a few exceptions *Jina*-images. Normally they show the main-figure (the Jina or a Jain goddess) surrounded by smaller figures These Jain images of Deogarh have a place of their own in Indian sculpture They do not form part of larger sets of uniform style as they are found on the outer walls of the bigger Hindu and Jain temples, but are just single pieces. At the most there are some very small groups. In addition to that, artistic activity was at an *equally* high level in the "early-medieval period" and in the "medieval period" (the dividing line between the two being

in the 10th century). This is seldom the case. For both these reasons the material is very heterogeneous from the point of view of style.

The large number of images and their lack of stylistic conformity presented two problems which were otherwise not met with in Indian art in such an extreme form. In the *first* place material had to be reduced by devising an appropriate classification. It would have been absolutely impossible to prepare a detailed catalogue with iconographic *and* stylistic descriptions of hundreds of images. The only alternative was the difficult task of reducing the material to a limited number of types and of eliminating images without iconographic and stylistic significance. This has necessitated the creation of various orders of stylistic units. Thereby the following method of description could be adopted: Proceeding from the higher unit to the one immediately below it and finally from the smallest unit to the individual images. In this way the features of a unit were described only once and not repeated for the sub-units. It is true that this ideal could not always be achieved in actual practice. But on the whole this was the only method by which Ariadne's thread could be pulled through the labyrinth of images and by which complete coverage could be given to the material. — The discrepancy existing between the 324 images described and the total of 1000-1100 images has various reasons. In the first place images depicting non-Jinas were taken into consideration only by way of exception. Two special types of the Jina-image (referred to briefly in § 231) were also not described. The same is true of the small Jina-figures adorning pillars, door-frames, etc. (see § 232) but these figures are of course not included in the grand total Thirdly, certain classes included a considerable number of images which showed absolutely no character Once the classes had been defined as such and once those individual pieces having any outstanding features had been described, it was unnecessary to give a full account of this unpromising material. Finally, there were a large number of images which could not be classified on account of their lack of distinctive features or because they were in a bad state of preservation. These did not merit individual description either. Of course the images in the last group too could only be eliminated when it was finally established that all the stylistic and iconographic features had already been recorded during the examination of the 324 pieces which had been selected.

The *second* task was to conduct a closer examination of the variations in style and type which had been established and to discover the reasons. By a detailed discussion of what we have termed "form-principles" we have endeavoured to throw some light on the processes which were at the root of this outburst of artistic activity. We also felt that an examination of these form-principles might be useful for the study of Indian art in general. And Deogarh offered no doubt the best material for such an enquiry because nowhere else were the relevant phenomena more conspicuous than at this place

The reader who expects to find an aesthetic appreciation of each image described will admittedly be disappointed The value of an individual image is for the most part apparent from its classification. So of course an image belonging to the "Fair Class" is normally superior to an image belonging to the "Uncouth Class". Similarly it will become obvious from our text whether an image is unique or whether it is one of several closely related images. Here too a certain estimate is implied. Above all we believe that the carefully selected reproductions speak for themselves, and this admits of a certain degree of brevity in the descriptions.

§ 3. Some nine tenths of the Jain images represent Jinas, i.e. the main-figure is a "Jina" or "Tīrthankara". These are the spiritual titles accorded to Mahāvīra, the actual founder of

Jainism. But at the same time these titles are applied to Mahāvīra's 23 predecessors, all of whom except the last (Pārśva) belong in the realms of mythology. Exactly the same thing happened in the case of Gautama Śākyamuni known by his title "Buddha". Here too mythological Buddhas bearing different names were added forming a series with him (some preceding him and one following him). There is however a difference in so far as Buddhism has Gautama Śākyamuni, the historical Buddha, in a pre-eminent position whereas Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, does not specially predominate in the series of the 24 Jinas. In the field of iconography the mythological Buddhas only appear in isolated cases whereas mythological Jinas appear very frequently. To be still more accurate, the degree of frequency in the latter case has absolutely nothing to do with the difference between "historical" and "mythological".

In contrast to the Buddha — a type closely related iconographically — the Jina is normally represented as *naked*. However after the Gupta period (4th and 5th centuries A.D.) the community of the Śvetāmbara-Jains began to depict their Jinas with a dhotī. Only the *Digambara*-Jains represented their saviours, right up to the present day, without dress. As Central India (the area which includes Deogarh) was always under the influence of the Digambaras, we find here only the naked type of Jina. — The difference in iconographic treatment reflects a difference in the monastic rules Śvetāmbara monks wear a dhotī, whereas Digambara monks have no clothing. — At one time Jainism was wide-spread in India, but at the moment it has barely two million followers, most of whom live in Gujarat There are Jain *communities* in the towns of Central India and isolated families in a number of villages. At Deogarh there are at present two Jain families. The nearest community of any size is at Lalitpur.

According to a wide-spread opinion, Jain iconography is exceedingly monotonous. In this connection one has to differentiate carefully between Jina-iconography (iconography of the Jinas alone) and Jain iconography (iconography of the Jinas *and of the Jain gods*). Jina-iconography *is* monotonous wherever the "parikara" is absent or reduced to a minimum. Its absence or reduction is apparent not only in the Jina-images produced during the last six or seven hundred years, but also in a number of South Indian Jina-images. Here we have little variety as the rendering of the Jina himself always follows the same pattern. But whenever the parikara is fairly rich, the images may differ considerably by virtue of the different rendering of the parikara-elements. Variation is no doubt limited to this zone (in the case of other types, e.g. of the standing Visnu, *all* elements of the composition — parikara *and* main-figure — can be changed to a greater or lesser extent), but it is by no means insignificant. In fact, the average difference between different Jina-images is sometimes greater than the average difference between various renderings of one and the same Hindu god. These variations have however little to do with the differences between the 24 individual Jinas. The elements which distinguish one Jina from another are not very relevant in the present context. — If *Jain* iconography is termed monotonous, we have to distinguish between areas where only Jinas were represented (so that Jain iconography is identical with Jina iconography) and areas where other types occurred as well. In the first case variation will of course be minimal if the material is compared to any section of the "iconoplastic" art of the Hindus. In the second case there is only a difference in degree. Jain iconography which is not Jina-iconography consists mainly (although by no means exclusively) of female deities. Most of these were artifical conceptions of the middle ages, and as such they were no doubt less original than for example the different avatāras of Viṣṇu. But in spite of this, Jain iconography is at many places just as rich as Hindu iconography. — The relative monotony of the Jina- as well as the Jain iconography is not the result of restrictions imposed by the theologians but it is a reflection of the

time. The Jain artist was free to represent any motif from Jain literature, but mostly he followed the artistic traditions of his milieu. There were however noteworthy deviations from the convention (especially in the representations of Pārśva, the 23rd Jina), and this shows that the artist was not obliged to stick to any fixed pattern. It is worthy of note that unconventional elements are found both in high quality images and in average specimens.

§ 4. There are somewhat more than 400 inscriptions to be found in the area covered by the Jain Temples at Deogarh, but a large proportion consists merely of two or three words i.e. they do not even extend to a normal dedication. Most of the inscriptions appear on images — longer inscriptions are to be found on pillars and on tablets produced specially for this purpose. In the course of time both the number of the inscriptions and their extent increased and more than half of the epigraphical material (if the extent of the inscriptions and not their number is to be taken as a basis) dates from the period following the middle of the 12th century A.D. These calculations do not, it must be said, take one inscription from the ninth century into consideration. This inscription covers the entire upper surface of one pillar and is made up mostly of names.—It would appear that there was a great deal of activity in the temples from the middle of the 12th century onwards in spite of the fact that little building took place.

The inscriptions take the form of dedications and 95% of them are made up of names, titles, kinship-terms and laudatory epithets. In a number of cases dates are supplied of the object dedicated. Apart from a few noteworthy exceptions we are only concerned with these dated inscriptions and those of the undated inscriptions which can be appended to dated ones on comparing the names.

Inscriptions of special importance are the "Bhoja inscription" already mentioned (862 A.D.) and the inscriptions on the outer and inner door-frames of Temple No. 12 (1076 A.D. and 994 A.D.). The first inscription dates a whole complex of temples and images with tolerable exactitude. The two later inscriptions are of lesser importance as far as the dating of the Deogarh images is concerned but they could be of considerable importance for the chronology of places like Khajuraho.—Fortunately the chronology of our medieval images can be based on a considerable number of *image*-inscriptions. Whilst we have to rely on the single date 862 A.D. (appearing on a *pillar*) in the case of the early-medieval period, we have a considerable number of dated images at our disposal from the period following 966 A.D. (date of an image-inscription, see Fig. 192). Accordingly we have not only endeavoured to establish the chronology of the medieval Jina-images of Deogarh as accurately as possible, but by reproducing a fairly wide selection of dated images to be found both inside and outside Deogarh we have also given the reader a basis for establishing the chronology of other material.

§ 5. The Jain Temples of Deogarh were first described by A. Cunningham in his *Report for the years 1874-75 and 1876-77* (pp. 100f. and 104). In 1899, P C. Mukherji published a more detailed but not very profound account (see reference "MUKHERJI" in the list of abbreviations). The only important contribution and one which would meet modern requirements was made by D. R. Sahni Sahni had estampages of the inscriptions made (they are now all to be found in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India in Ootacamund[1]) and published a list or analysis which covered a total of 126 inscriptions (*List III*). It must be said, however, that Hargreaves (Sahni's predecessor in the Office of the Superintendent, Hindu and

[1] [The office has now been shifted to Mysore.]

Buddhist Monuments, "Northern Circle") had already described a number of important inscriptions (*List I* and *List II*).

Together with the list mentioned Sahni published a short description of the Jain Temples and a list of 62 photographs in his report for 1918 (see SAHNI). The photographs are of the greatest importance for obtaining an idea of the state of the temples prior to the modern restoration work. Today these photos are in Agra where the "Northern Circle" has its headquarters. In recent years the Jain Temples of Deogarh have aroused an increasing amount of interest and this is in keeping with the fact that interest in the medieval period of Indian art is growing generally. However, this increasing interest has not yet been reflected in painstaking surveys.

§ 6. After having established the importance of the Jain images of Deogarh for the history of Indian art in the preceding paragraphs, no further justification is required for the choice of theme. — However the reader may enquire, on seeing from the few references made to literature how little work has been done on the art of Central India up to the present, whether it is possible to deal with all the material in this field in a reasonable time in monographs similar to the present one. This question — which could just as well be asked about other provinces of India — must be answered with a decided negative. The number of people working in this field is limited and time is pressing since a variety of factors change and reduce the material. In Deogarh itself not only were art-thieves of the worst description at work but only recently two temples were restored completely through the be-it-said very well-meaning efforts of the Jain Community and as a result the original structures disappeared without trace. Certainly monographs on individual locations or structures are called for. They throw light on the problems of the particular field of art. However, time-consuming surveys of every locality cannot possibly be made. In this case the "monograph" should all the more give place to the "inventory" and in view of the magnitude of the task the inventory should not be an exhaustive one but a short one (§ 324). The task must be to see that the first phase in which a summary record was made — a phase introduced by Cunningham's *Reports* but now virtually at an end — should be followed by one in which careful inventories are prepared, inventories which must not however go to extremes as regards detail. There is no lack of good examples in connection with this task. It will be sufficient to refer to the series *Bayerische Kunstdenkmale* (1958 foll.), published by the Bayerisches Landesamt fur Denkmalpflege. Today, research workers cannot be sure that bodies concerned with the preservation of monuments (who have to fight against all number of difficulties) will succeed in keeping all art treasures intact until monographs are prepared on them. The work of physical preservation must therefore be supplemented to an ever-increasing extent by preservation in word and picture.

If in this connection we dedicate this book to M. B. Garde who worked magnificently and untiringly to preserve monuments of Central Indian art, it is more than a mere expression of thanks. It is also meant to point out that our generation has now been given the task of continuing and consolidating the preservation-work carried out by M. B. Garde and others by ***wielding the pen.***

M. B. GARDE

The course of M B Garde's life[1] is swiftly related. He was born into a poor Brahman family at Sangli in the extreme South of Maharashtra on September 12th, 1888. There he matriculated from the City High School and he took his B.A. at the Rajaram College at Kolhapur. After this he joined the Deccan College in Poona to pursue post-graduate studies in Sanskrit. The Government of India however awarded him a scholarship for training in archaeology and he had to leave these post-graduate studies in mid-stream. From 1911-1913 he was one of the first batch of Archaeological Survey of India trainees under the personal supervision of Sir John Marshall. At the instance of Lord Curzon, the late Madhav Rao Scindia started in 1913 the Department of Archaeology in his State. It was Shri Garde who was deputed by Sir John Marshall to organize it He worked for this department for 31 years up to October 14th, 1944, and under two successive Maharajas, the above-mentioned Madhav Rao Scindia and his son, the late Jivaji Rao Scindia. Shri Garde was Superintendent (later: "Director") of Archaeology, Gwalior State. Since 1921 he had also been Director of the then newly founded Archaeological Museum, Gwalior Fort. Shri Garde died at his home in Lashkar (Gwalior) on August 17th, 1960 — 16 years after his official retirement His activities in the field of archaeology did not come to a sudden end after his retirement. It can be said however that the really active period of his life ended in 1944. For the work of a pure scholar retirement may not have any great implications. But Shri Garde was used to spending the equivalent of three months or more every year on tours which took him to every corner of the State. Under these circumstances it was extremely difficult for him to set up a new research programme which would fit into the changed circumstances of his life. His recollections of his period of service however always remained fresh. This at least was the impression of the author when he met him in Lashkar in 1956.

The *Annual Administration Reports of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State* can be called Shri Garde's autobiography. He lived for his work and all the details of his activities will be found there. Suffice it to say that five projects occupied him more than others. At Pawaya he excavated the remains of a Hindu temple consisting of three superimposed brick platforms. Near Ujjain he traced the remains of several stūpas, one of unusually large dimensions At Suhania (Morena District) he preserved the badly damaged Hindu temple known as Kakanmadh. In the case of the Bagh Caves he not only organized the necessary preservation work but had also copies of the paintings prepared. These can now be seen in the Gwalior Museum This Museum may complete the series of the five "major projects" singled out for the present purpose. It is housed in the Gujari Mahal (built by Man Singh Tomar for his favourite queen Mriganayini — a *gūjari* by caste). Its collection contains objects of every description. The numerous specimens of early sculptural art deserve special mention

More than other archaeologists of his day did Shri Garde realize the necessity to keep the public informed. He gave lantern-slide lectures, published numerous guide-books and had

[1] I am much indebted to Shri G M. Garde, M Sc. (Nagda, Madhya Pradesh) who supplied part of the material contained in the present biographical note on his father

photos of archaeological monuments in the State displayed at the railway-stations. In the case of outstanding monuments tablets were erected at his instance which carried an informative text under which his own name appeared. Thus his name will for ever remain associated with the monuments to the preservation and study of which he devoted his life.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE FORMER STATE OF GWALIOR

(Government Bodies [a] and Serial Publications [b])

Prior to 1913: (a) Archaeological Survey of India. (b) *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* (Cunningham's Reports), *Annual Reports of the ASI; Progress Reports of the ASI, Western Circle*

1913-1948: (a) Archaeological Department, Gwalior State. (b) 1913-23: Unpublished departmental reports; *Annual Reports of the ASI; Progress Reports of the ASI, Western Circle.* 1923/24-1946: *Annual Administration Reports of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State.* 1947/48: Unpublished departmental report.

1949-1956: (a) Department of Archaeology, Government of Madhya Bharat, Gwalior. (b) Unpublished departmental reports for the years 1948 foll.

Since 1956: (a) Department of Archaeology, Government of Madhya Pradesh, Bhopal. (b) *Indian Archaeology.*

[Deogarh is situated on the border between the former State of Gwalior (now a part of Madhya Pradesh) and Uttar Pradesh, but it belongs to Uttar Pradesh (§ 47). The Hindu monuments of Deogarh are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Archaeology, Northern Circle, Agra.]

medieval (Nīlakaṇṭheśvara-temple at Udaipur near Bhilsa, "samvat 1116-37"[1]). In the case of the Jain temples at Deogarh our division is slightly different. But this division is only relevant to Chapters 3 and 5; it will be explained in §§ 26-32. — In sculptural art we distinguish between an early-medieval and a medieval[2] period (ca. 850-975 A.D. and ca. 975-1150 A.D. in the case of Deogarh). To the first period belong the images of our "Drum-Style" and our "Drum-Leaf Style", while those of the "High-Relief Style" belong to the medieval period. — Years *and* centuries are given in the Vikrama era which is used in our inscriptions without exception. Vikrama dates are preceded in our text by the word "samvat". In order to convert them into years A.D 57 or 56 years have to be deducted.

§ 8. In general an attempt has been made not to burden the text with figures unnecessarily. In order to identify the various temples, images, inscriptions, "Figs.", and unpublished photos, constant use has nevertheless had to be made of figures. As far as the Jain temples are concerned we have kept to the usual numbering — 1-31 (see Fig. 1), but we added the additional numbers 12 A-L (see Fig. 392), 24 A (right by the west-side of Temple No. 24), 27 A (right by the north-side of Temple No. 27), and 27 B (right by the north-side of Temple No. 27 A). "No. 12" identifies only the vimāna (with porch) which forms the nucleus of the complex of structures usually referred to by this number. The other parts of this complex (two shrines in front of the vimāna, the hall, the chamber in the centre of the hall, the portico) are referred to separately (e g. "portico in front of Temple No. 12") The "Wall" is divided into 16 sections which are identified by Roman figures (see Fig. 392)

The images were numbered in the order in which they were dealt with in the text (Images Nos. 1-319). They are generally numbered in sequence within the styles, classes, and groups in which they occur. The only exceptions are Images Nos. 1, 13-14 and 15-21. These are described in Chapter 7, and not in the chapters on the styles and classes to which they belong. The 26 wall-figures of Temple No. 12 (Fig. 342) are numbered separately

The numbers of the images also identify the inscriptions appearing on them. Only in Chapter 4 did we use the numbers given to our own estampages. This was also necessary whenever an inscription appeared on an object not included in the list of our 324 images. The numbers of the estampages are always in two parts; the first part identifies the temple to which the object bearing the inscription belongs (the object may even be a pillar lying at a short distance from the respective temple), and the second part refers to the particular inscription Instead of the first part (number of the temple) the words "Wall" and "Rampart" are occasionally used to denote in the quotation the wall surrounding Temples Nos. 11, 12 etc and the rampart on the eastern side of the fort. In the first case the inscription appears on an image fixed on the sides of the "Wall" and in the second it is found on an image lying to the west of the "Rampart". — The Figs. 1-394 include photos, line-drawings, and maps.

The adverbs "right" and "left" locate the element of the composition as seen by the viewer. The same is true of the corresponding adjectives unless they refer to parts of a figure. Thus the "right-hand" cāmara-bearer always stands to the right of the *left* arm of the main-figure — Images measuring 5-6 feet in height are called "life-size". — We use "No." (instead of "no.") for Images Nos. 1-319, Temples Nos. 1-31, Jinas Nos. 1-24.

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[1] This at least is the date given by modern authors. A careful evaluation of the relevant inscriptions has yet to be made. See for the time being the literature referred to in *INI* Nos. 134 and 147.

[2] "medieval" is invariably a short form for "medieval in its narrowest sense".

PART ONE

DEOGARH AND ITS TEMPLES

§ 9. The following lists of terms refer to the architecture and to the iconography. In the latter case "compositions", "positions (*Stellen*) in the composition", and "elements of the composition" are listed separately. This is followed by a list of the commoner iconographic types and a list of the 24 Jinas. — The first list (architecture) confines itself to the architectural terms which are used in the text from time to time. The terms defined would not even suffice for a detailed description of the Deogarh temples.

A distinction between "positions" and "elements" of the composition was not made for practical reasons but in order to emphasize the difference between the two categories. In the case of the elements of the composition the reader may ask why terms like "triple lotus", "pedestal-lotus", and "uṣṇīsa-lotus" are listed separately without regard to their relationship. But an arrangement in conformity with reality such as classifying the lotus-flowers according to the stages of their growth (budding-blossoming) or according to the various parts of the plant (rhizome, flower etc.) would not throw any light on the *forms*. Conversely a classification purely based on formal considerations (distinguishing for example disk-like, stick-like etc. objects) would not be a practical proposition. Only the description of very simple elements can be effected without recourse to reality, starting from the form itself. Under these circumstances we could not employ formal definitions or realistic classifications. — The list of the elements of the composition only serves to explain terms which are not self-evident. However comprehensive it may be, it is not a complete inventory of the iconographic programme of the Jina-images at Deogarh — Between the normal sense of the word and the way in which it is used by us slight differences may be found here and there Thus the term "throneframe-animal" is correct only in the historical sense. Originally such animals jutted out from the back-rest (or *dossier*) or — more rarely — from the arm-rests (or *accoudoirs*) of the throne.[1] However in the case of our images this part of the throne is no longer depicted, and the term merely refers to the animals occupying a particular place in the composition (refer to § 13 *s v.*) — Sanskrit terms are defined in the sense in which they are used by us and other meanings have not been recorded.

§ 10. ARCHITECTURE

Āmalaka, n. — "Flat fluted melon-shaped member usually at the summit of the Indo-Aryan type of śikhara" (P. Brown). Figs. 2 and 34-35.

Antarāla, n. — In the case of temples *with* mandapa this term stands for the area between the supports (pillars, pilasters etc.) which project from the outside of the front-wall of the cella flanking its entrance In the case of temples *without* maṇḍapa: A passage leading from the entrance of the temple to the cella (Fig. 393).

Bead-Border — Row of pearls, in the case of bad work rendered only as a series of carelessly chiselled squares. Fig. 7 A.

Caitya-Window — Shorter side of a barrel-vault serving as a decorative feature. COOMARASWAMY, *Bodhgayā*, Pl. 46,3; *ASIAR* 1902/03, Pl. 29; COOMARASWAMY, Fig. 154.

[1] *MASI* 54, Pl. 46b and 50b (reliefs from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa). See also J. AUBOYER, *Le trône et son symbolisme*, p. 35f.

CHAPTER ONE

EXPLANATION OF THE TERMS[1]

§ 7. There are various reasons why the special terms, names etc. should have a special chapter devoted to them First of all, even the expressions which are already current are often familiar only to a small circle. They therefore require some elucidation. Secondly, countless architectural and iconographical terms are used in works on Indian art. These are normally taken from old "art-theoretical" Sanskrit texts. However, a complete set of more or less generally applicable and appropriate terms has not yet been evolved. Thirdly, any work dealing with iconography breaks new ground and, of necessity, gives rise to a whole host of new and often somewhat curious expressions which are urgently needed to describe the constantly recurring elements depicted. In contrast to this it is not necessary to coin equally large numbers of new terms where architecture is concerned since the number of possible motifs in architecture is more limited.

A large proportion of the terms used can be found in the lists which follow. Many expressions have been explained in the text however and for this reason these terms have not been included in the lists. Thus the terms used in the stylistic classifications are explained in § 97 (see also § 333) The names of the individual styles, classes etc. (Drum-Style, Drum-Leaf Style etc) appear in §§ 332-333. There, reference is also made to the paragraphs in which the individual styles, classes etc. are described. For the term "formula" refer to § 48 (and § 275).

For the term "attribute" and for the difference between iconography in its "narrowest" and in its "widest" sense the reader is referred to §§ 293 and 315. In modern works on Indian art the term "iconoplastic" refers to images (main idols, niche-figures etc.) in contradistinction to narrative panels, non-religious motifs etc. Many terms for dress and ornaments are both used and explained in Chapter 7 when describing the cāmara-bearers of the Large Śānti (§ 53) and the Early Ambikās (§§ 58ff.). However these terms are rarely to be found outside Chapter 7.

The reader will find the places mentioned in the text in Fig. 390. Some names not entered in the map are given in § 337 The position of the remaining places is given in the text unless it can be safely assumed that the reader is familiar with them. The geographical terms used in the text could not always be defined exactly. However the term "surrounding area" always refers to the villages of Chandpur, Pachrachi, and Siron Khurd, to the deserted town of Budhi Chanderi, and to the locality known as Golakot. When the term "Central India" is used it usually refers to the area covered by the map in Fig. 390 Following the common practice "Northern India" refers to the area in which the northern śikhara or temple-tower is to be found.

When dividing up the periods and describing them we have followed previous custom, and the remarks which follow are only meant to give a more precise definition. Broadly speaking we distinguish the following periods: early Gupta (compare Udaigiri near Bhilsa, Cave No. 6 dating from 402 A.D.); Gupta (Gupta temple at Deogarh); post-Gupta (larger Śiva-temple at Mahua); early-medieval (Caturbhuja-temple on the slope of the hill on which the Gwalior Fort is situated, 875 A.D.); medieval (Lakṣmaṇa-temple at Khajuraho); late-

[1] Refer also to § 338 (Index of Terms).

Caitya-Window Labyrinth	Pattern formed through the constant repetition of caitya-windows and trifoils covering surfaces of different shapes. Refer also to "śikhara-niche".
Cella	Chamber with only one entrance with an object of worship either on the wall opposite the entrance or in the centre. Refer also to "rooms of the temple". — Fig. 393.
Chajjā, m.	Eave-like feature projecting from the outer wall at a slight angle from the horizontal (generally to be found on a level with a [the] ceiling). Fig. 155 and COOMARASWAMY, Fig. 211
Closed Triangle-Frieze	Frieze where triangles and inverted triangles alternate with one another to form a continuous pattern. The design on the lower and upper triangles need not be uniform. Fig. 394, No. 26 (= Fig. 7 A).
Composite Frieze	Complex frieze whose members originally consisted of a blending of jewel-motifs and scroll-work Figs. 296-299.
Garbhagṛha, n.	Traditional name of the cella.
Hall-Temple	Flat-roofed temple Consisting of a main-room with or without extensions. See "main-room".
Kīrtimukha, n.	Decorative motif derived from the mask of a phantastic animal, used *inter alia* to adorn pillars. Fig 240 (on the throne-blanket).
Leaf-Frieze	Motif made up of a series of leaves which may or may not alternate with dart-like members Fig. 394, No 28 (= Fig. 7 A). See also "leaf-circlet" in § 13. — Compare the egg-and-dart of European art.
Main-Room	Flat-roofed square or rectangular room, the principal part of a "hall-temple". The main-room normally has flat-roofed extensions (porch *or veranda* in front, cella in the rear) and occasionally an upper story on the same plan The width of the porch and the cella is much less than that of the main-room (as is also the case with the normal temple). Fig. 392 (Temple No. 11)
Maṇḍapa, m., n.	See "rooms of the temple".
Open Triangle Frieze	A frieze which is made up of two rows of plain triangles, the rows being arranged in such a way that the apexes of the triangles in the second row appear between the triangles in the front row. Fig. 394, No 27 (= Fig 7 A).
Pāga	Projecting pilaster-like zone on the śikhara Fig 2
Palmyra-Motif	Floral motif derived from the crown of a fan-palm, used for adorning pillars (and as a double-leaf). Figs. 314-319, 322-323. See also "double-leaf" in § 13.
Pavilion	Small structure consisting of four pillars which support a square plinth (with chajjā all round) on which a cupola rests. Met with in Indo-Islamic art. Fig. 155.
Pillar	Any vertical support, no distinction being made between "pillar" and "column".
Plinth	The lower part of the temple which supports the walls. Decorated on its outer surface by string-courses and thereby set off

	against the wall above it. Fig. 6.
Porch	See "rooms of the temple".
Pradakṣiṇapatha, m.	Closed passage leading round the cella either inside or outside the area covered by the śikhara. Fig. 393. See also "vimāna".
Pūrnakalaśa, m.	Floral motif (derived from a flower-vase) adorning pillars. Fig. 30.
Rooms of the Temple	If the temple has only one room we call this room the "cella". If it has two rooms, then the room in front is called the "porch", provided it is not wider than the cella; otherwise it is called the "maṇḍapa". When there are three rooms or more, then the two rooms in the rear are called the "cella" and the "maṇḍapa" respectively and the room (or rooms) in front are called "porch (-es)".
Shrine	Small flat-roofed temple consisting of a cella with or without porch.
Śikhara, m., n	Tower over the cella. In the case of temples with pradakṣinapatha generally covering cella *and* pradakṣinapatha. Figs 2 and 393 (tower in this case only over the *cella*).
Śikhara-Niche	Architectural feature, with a niche in its centre, projecting from the outer walls of a temple Topped by a śikhara executed in high relief and formed by a caitya-window labyrinth. See Fig. 6 and § 79
Śikhara-Temple	Temple with a śikhara
Śukanāsā, f	Can be described as a "compact, shield-like antefix to the body of the Śikhara" (KRAMRISCH, *Hindu Temple*, p. 241). Historically speaking it is a further development of the trefoil, *quod vide.* Fig 2
Tower	Tapering superstructure over a room of the temple. Where temples have several towers the highest is the śikhara. Any towers over the *maṇḍapa* and the *porch(es)* are lower and of different shape.
Trefoil	Further development of the caitya-window motif. The architectural prototype is possibly a barrel-vaulted structure which has been extended *laterally* (compare the *Kübbungen* of the farmhouses in Lower Saxony). COOMARASWAMY, *Bodhgayā*, Pl. 46,2; *ASIAR* 1913/14, Pt I Pl. 3a; COOMARASWAMY, Fig. 155.
Veranda	Open porch extending along the entire frontside of the mainroom, *quod vide*
Vimāna, m , n.	The śikhara and its substructure taken together. This includes the pradakṣinapatha whether it is covered by the śikhara or not.

§ 11. COMPOSITIONS IN JAIN ICONOGRAPHY

Caturvimśatipaṭṭa, m. (or Caubīsī, f.)	Tablet with 24 miniature-Jinas of equal size and arranged in horizontal rows. Fig. 27.

Caumukha, n.	Upright cube or cylinder on the four sides of which Jinas appear. § 19, Figs. 265-66.
Double-Image	Composition in which two standing Jina-images of equal size appear side by side. In rare cases a Jina and a non-Jina are depicted.
Frieze-Slab	See Fig. 210 and § 231.
Image with Miniature-Jinas	Image where the main-figure is surrounded by miniature-Jinas. Their number varies, but we very often find 23 or 24 miniature-Jinas See Fig. 199.
Mānastambha, m.	Free standing votive-pillar which may or may not resemble pillars used in architecture. On the four sides of the capital and/or socle appear in most cases miniature-figures (Jinas and/or non-Jinas). Refer to Fig. 3 middle (the pillar in the *left foreground* is midway between a mānastambha and a sahasrabimbastambha).
Miniature-Image	Self-contained iconoplastic composition of small size Appears on capitals and caumukhas, but forms also a constituent part of door-frames and larger images.
Pādukā, f.	Slab with one or with 24 pairs of feet carved on it in high relief. The feet represent the Jina(s) Pādukas always rest on the ground.
Sahasrabimbastambha, m	Pillar-like cube on the four sides of which 1000 miniature-Jinas are shown. One specimen is found at Deogarh (Temple No 5). A more complex form is reproduced in SHAH, *Studies*, Fig 64
Toraṇa-Image	Image where a gate forms a frame around the main-figure. The gate consists of an arch-like element resting on two pillars. Figs 28-31.
Tritīrthikā, Tritīrthī, f.	Composition with one seated Jina in the middle and two standing Jinas by his sides. This is found as a self-contained composition and as a part of a larger composition. Refer to Fig. 218 upper left and right (typical rendering in medieval style).

§ 12. "POSITIONS" AND ZONES WITHIN THE COMPOSITION[1]

Attendant-Figures	Two to six figures flanking the main-figure to the right and to the left and standing on about the same level. The corresponding figures on either side are symmetrical (Fig. 98) or non-symmetrical (Fig 144). In the case of the Jina there are not more than two attendant-figures in all. — The attendant-figures are almost always smaller than the main-figure, but the size-relation varies.
Attribute	Element of the composition which is not admitted for all gods etc., e.g. triple parasol (restricted to the Jina) and usnīṣa-lotus (restricted to the Jina and to Visṇu). Most of the attributes can be classified as cihnas, feet-attributes, hand-attributes, head-attributes, seat-attributes, and vāhanas. See Chapter 22.

[1] In this para the words "attribute", "cihna", and "vāhana" are defined with reference to the persons (understood as persons known from the texts) along with whom they are represented. See § 298.

Central Object	Object appearing above the head of the main-figure, not however touching it (in the case of the Jinas invariably a triple parasol).
Cihna, n.	A special type of attribute identifying the individual Jinas within the series of 24. It often appears on the surface of other objects (e.g of the throne-blanket). It invariably appears *below* the Jina. Some cihnas are geometrical figures like the swastika. The series of the 24 cihnas is determined by the texts (§ 15, see also § 264).
Feet-Attribute	An attribute on which a figure stands. Certain iconographic texts refer to all feet-attributes and seat-attributes as "vāhanas" (meaning originally "conveyance", "animal used in riding"). Because of this even a lotus is occasionally styled "vāhana".
Foot-Band	In the case of carved pedestals the plain horizontal band forming their lowest part. Inscriptions and cihnas often appear on it. See Fig. 242.
Genii	Hovering figures flanking the "central object", either singly or in pairs (each pair comprising a male and a female figure).
Hand-Attribute	An attribute held in the hand, a gesture of the hand, or both.
Head-Attribute	Any attribute shown on the head. The head-*dress* also has attribute-value, but like the other elements of the dress it is normally not referred to as "attribute".
Head-Dress	The hair alone or interwoven with ribbons, jewels etc. (§ 300).
Main-Figure	The central figure which dominates the composition by virtue of its size and position. Such a main-figure is found in most iconoplastic compositions.
Parikara, m.	The subsidiary figures and subsidiary elements surrounding the main-figure, taken in their entirety.
Parikara-Top	All elements of the parikara which are above the head of the main-figure (including the genii which may appear at head-level)
Pedestal	The surface below the main-figure of an image. If a throne is depicted the throne-bar (with blanket) indicates the upper limit of the pedestal as a formal unit. — The term *throne* covers also the throne-cushion lying on the throne-blanket. See "throne-top" (§ 13)
Seat-Attribute	An attribute on which a figure sits See also "feet-attribute".
Subsidiary Element	Element not made up by a figure and having no direct contact with the main-figure.
Subsidiary Figures	Figures other than the main-figure, except those which are in direct contact with the main-figure (as the miniature-Buddha on the head).
Vāhana, n.	Animal (rarely human) figure supporting the main-figure or standing on the same level. A figure in a particular image, having no direct contact with the main-figure, can only be styled "vāhana" if it serves on other similar images as a support for the main-figure. — For "vāhana" in its widest sense see "feet-attribute".

§ 13. THE ELEMENTS OF THE COMPOSITION

Abhaya-Gesture	Gesture of the hand where the palm is turned towards the viewer, the fingers are closed, and the finger-tips point upwards. See Fig. 195 (Gomukha).
Abhiṣeka-Elephants	Antithetic group made up of two elephants which hold ("empty") water-jars over the head of a deity. See also § 193.
Back-Plate	Plate projecting from the surface of an image and serving as a background for certain figures. See Figs. 78 (cāmara-bearers) and 113 (genii).
Badami-Formula	The crouching position adopted by the female of the garland-bearing couple. See Fig 313 and "Sondni-formula".
Bhāmandala, n.	Halo, without distinction between *halo* in the usual sense and *mandorla* (aura). But there is only one example of the mandorla to be found at Deogarh (attendant-figures in Fig. 244).
Book-Gesture	Special position of the fingers when supporting a book in a more or less vertical position (Figs. 52, 384-85).
Cakra, n.	"Disk", employed *inter alia* as a weapon (Fig. 250). See also "dharmacakra"
Cāmara-Bearer	Attendant-figure carrying a cāmara (*caūrī*, "chowry") or fly-whisk in one hand.
Chest-Posture	Position in which the throne-lions hold one of their front-paws on their chests (Fig 132).
Cloud	Back-plate of the garland-bearers. Can generally be recognized as a cloud by virtue of its scalloped border See Fig. 113 (scalloped border) and Image No. 49 in Fig. 85 (simple border)
Cross-Band	Flat plain horizontal band which appears above the shoulders of some seated Jinas of the medieval period Fig. 224.
Curls	Mode of depicting hair in the form of small balls, either of plain design or snail-like (familiar from the Buddha-image). The curls are apparently meant to show tightly twisted tufts of hair
Cushion-Lotus	Lotus-blossom depicted in low relief on the cushion on which the Jina is seated. The position of the Jina permits only a segment of this to be seen Fig. 140
Dharmacakra, n.	Spoked wheel depicted in the centre of the pedestal. It is shown either from the edge (this is invariably the case at Deogarh) or from the front. Figs. 140 and 383.
Dharmacakra-Ribbons	Ribbons hanging down from the hub of the wheel, often duplicated (like the petals of the "viśvapadma") with one pair pointing downwards and one pair pointing upwards Fig. 140.
Double-Leaf	A double-leaf consists of two single leaves arranged symmetrically to the right and to the left of the axis of the image and in such a way that they appear above the head of the main-figure or by its side. Jina-images often have more than one pair, all pairs being arranged on about the same level. Figs. 31, 224, 263, 320-21.

Double-Plant	Plant-motif, almost cylindrical in form appearing to the right and left of the main-figure. Fig. 70.
Double-Rosette	Blossom-like motif appearing to the right and left of the image. In iconoplastic art, the use of this would appear to be confined to the Jina. Fig. 7 A.
Drum	Drum represented above the top of the parasol, along with a drummer appearing as a complete figure or in a more or less abbreviated form. Quite often only the hands placed on the drum-skins are shown. See Fig. 35[= KRAMRISCH, *Hindu Temple*, 55] (complete figure) and Fig. 127 (hands alone). Fig. 230 shows an unconventional formula appearing on some late-medieval images.
Drummer	See "drum".
Dvibhanga, m.	Position where the body is bending once — from the thighs. Fig. 63. See also "tribhanga".
Feet-Lotus	Fully fledged lotus serving as a support for a standing figure. See Fig. 60
Fold-Formula	Representation of the visible part of the "throne-blanket" in a manner similar to or identical with the rendering in Fig. 239 A. The term was adopted to describe the peculiar geometrical figure employed for the motif.
Garland-Bearers	Two single genii or two couples of genii (see § 12) as far as they carry — in all — two garlands. The garland is carried by the single genius (Fig. 195 right), by the couple (Fig. 195 left), or by one member of the couple (Fig 141). — A rare formula is supplied by Fig. 204 (one garland in all).
Hood-Circle	Hoods of a many-headed cobra spread in a fan-like manner. As a rule appearing behind the head of a human figure in the same way as a halo, and belonging to a snake whose coils are wholly or partly concealed by the human figure.
Jaṭā, f	Arrangement of the hair consisting of *plaited* strands. Figs. 351-365 See the Index (§ 338, s.v. "jaṭā")
Kalaśa-Bearer	Subsidiary figure holding a kalaśa (rounded vessel without handles) with both hands Image No. 229 in Fig. 195 (bottom left)
Kīrtimukha, n	See § 10.
Knee-Bump	Bump in the centre of the legs of standing Jinas indicating the knees. Figs 7 and 10.
Lalitāsana, n.	Mode of sitting with one leg folded and the other hanging down. Fig. 208.
Lateral Strands	Strands hanging down laterally from the head. Fig. 97, § 129.
Leaf-Circlet	Petals of a lotus (bhāmaṇḍala in lotus-form, seat-lotus, feet-lotus) depicted as a circular or oval "leaf-frieze" (§ 10) See Fig. 140 (leaf-circlet as part of a realistically depicted seat-lotus).
Lion-Throne	Parts of the throne which appear below the main-figure. This does not include the throneframe-animals to the left and right of the main-figure (and which are the only upper throne-elements depicted at Deogarh). See also "pedestal" (§ 12) and the

compounds beginning with "throne-" (*infra*).

Lotus-Node — Vegetable object normally appearing at foot-level. See Figs. 250 (centre), 375 (left), and 380-81. See "Padmapāṇi-elements".

Lower Parasol-Stick — Stick of the parasol held by a female attendant-figure and slanting towards the main-figure. Its upper portion is largely concealed by the main-figure This is found in Jain iconography in certain images of the Jina Pārśva (Fig. 38). Historically speaking the "lower parasol-stick" is the lower continuation of the "parasol-stick" (i.e. *upper* parasol-stick), *quod vide* For the development of the motif compare Figs. 334-337. See "Pārśva" in § 14 and § 78

Makara, m. — Aquatic monster, the motif being derived from the crocodile. The body is rarely shown in its entirety: most makaras are either mere *protomai* (e.g. if employed as throneframe-animals) or have their rear-halves replaced by scroll-work (e.g if employed as vāhanas of the river-goddesses) See Figs. 82 and 90 (late example).

Mango-Leaf Disk — Digitate leaf in the form of a disk The outlines of the individual leaves are scratched into the surface A bunch of mango-fruits hangs down from the centre See Figs. 330 and 209

Mukuṭa, m n. — Cylindrical crown. Fig 12

Nāga — Snake-demon Theriomorphous and therio-anthropomorphous formulas. Fig 338 (two miniature-figures).

Padmapāṇi-Elements — Two parts of the large lotus of the Bodhisattva-iconography which are represented as independent motifs: the lotus-node, *quod vide*, and the blossom (Image No 280 in Fig 231) which is occasionally represented as a mere rosette

Palm-Lotus — The blossom of the Padmapāṇi-motif. See also § 209.

Parasol-Stick — Top-most part of the parasol-stick which is depicted between the head of the main-figure and the top of the parasol. In the iconography of the Jina, the parasol-stick is not always shown Where it is depicted it seems to be invariably vertical Fig 83 (left-hand Jina with and right-hand Jina without parasol-stick) See also "lower parasol-stick"

Parasol-Unit — With early-medieval images the square or oblong element formed jointly by the top of the parasol, by the double-leaf, and by the drum. Fig 178 (lower row).

Pedestal-Lotus — In the case of standing Jina-images with plain pedestals the segment of a lotus-blossom which appears on the face of the pedestal (compare in this connection the "throne-blanket"). Careful artists may represent also the upper portion of the pedestal-lotus (and of the throne-blanket). In this case the pedestal-lotus approaches in shape to the "feet-lotus". Figs. 78 and 83 (right). In Fig. 83 the upper portion is actually depicted, but this can hardly be recognized in the photo.

Posture of the Jina
Iconoplastic art depicts the Jina as seated and standing.[1] In both cases it is invariably the straight front view which is adopted. There are no subvarieties of the standing posture (Fig. 7). The seated posture admits of two variants: the legs are either crossed ("vajraparyaṅka") or placed one upon the other ("sattvaparyaṅka"). See Fig. 28 ("v.") and COOMARASWAMY, 234 ("s."). The second variety is not met with at Deogarh. — No attributes are held by Jinas in their hands.

Preaching-Gesture
Gesture of the hand where index-finger and thumb touch, the other fingers being extended. As a rule the palm of the hand faces the viewer, and in this case the preaching-gesture may come close to the "abhaya-gesture". Fig. 52 and SIVARAMAMURTI, *South Indian Bronzes*, Pl. 63 b.

Protome (plural: Protomai)
Front half of a figure (mostly an animal). Fig. 82 (*makara*-protomai).

Pseudo-Pilaster
Flat pilaster serving in the medieval period as a background for standing main-figures. Its surface is relieved by horizontal courses.

Sattvaparyanka, m.
See "posture of the Jina".

Seat-Lotus
Lotus serving as a support for a seated figure. See Fig 191.

Snake-Coils
The coils of the cobra, especially the extremities which form two vertical rows of hairpin-bends to the side of the main-figure (Pārśva etc). Figs. 133 (and 338-41). See also "hood-circle".

Sondni-Formula
Method of depicting the female figure of the garland-bearing couple in a hovering position. See Fig. 312 and "Badami-formula".

Splay-Gesture
Special position of the hand holding an object: Some fingers are bent to secure a grip on the object and the others are outstretched. Fig. 250 (left lower hand)

Śrīvatsa, m.
Chest-mark in the form of a brooch. Can be compared with the signs on the palms and on the soles. It is found on certain male persons like the Jina. Fig. 230 (in relief) and Fig. 40/left (merely incised).

Strands
Unplaited strands (§ 129 and Figs. 343-365). In certain cases we use the word "strand" as a general term which covers both "unplaited strands" and "jaṭā" (e.g. when we speak of "strand-Jinas") See the Index (§ 338, s.v. "strands").

Strand-Circle
Strands arranged radially as found with Garuda, Rāhu, and others Fig. 250 and *Distinction*, Fig. 48

Thigh-Posture
Position of the hand resting on the thigh. Fig. 33.

Throne-Bar
Upper front-edge of the throne, rendered as a round bar Fig. 140.

Throne-Blanket
Curved blanket lying on the throne and hanging forward over it. This refers to the part hanging down which alone is *always*

[1] Jain art is mostly iconoplastic, there are a few non-iconoplastic reliefs at Deogarh, but these show only "ācāryas" and "sādhus".

visible. See J AUBOYER, *La vie quotidienne*, Fig. 32,4 and our Fig. 140. Insofar as a cushion is depicted it will be seen lying on the throne-blanket.

Throneframe-Animal — Animals and animal-protomai facing outwards and arranged one above the other on either side of the image. The usual formula can be seen in Fig. 7 (from bottom to top: elephant-protome, vyāla, makara-protome). Now and then *one, two, or four* — and not three — throneframe-animals are shown. See also § 9.

Throne-Top — Top of the lion-throne, consisting of throne-bar, throne-blanket, cushion, and cushion-lotus Fig. 140.

Tribhanga, m. — Position where the body is bending twice — from the thighs and from the waist. Fig. 292. See also "dvibhanga". A third formula of the *bhanga* has been described in § 54.

Triple Lotus — Trifurcated stalk with a blossom at the end of the central stem, the other stems ending in buds or smaller blossoms. Fig. 128 (pedestal).

Triśūla, m. — Trident

Unplaited Strands — See Figs. 343-346 and § 129.

Uṣnīsa, m. — Cranial bump (familiar from the iconography of the Buddha) appearing on the heads of most Jinas. It is more or less clearly set off against the head. Figs. 7 and 84 (unconventional usnīsa of cylindrical shape). When referring to the uṣnīsa-like bump of strand-images we put the word usnīsa in quotation-marks

Uṣṇīṣa-Lotus — Pericarp of a lotus placed topside down on the usnīsa and covering it wholly or partially. Fig 106

Vajraparyaṅka, m — See "posture of the Jina"

Varada-Gesture — Gesture of the hand where the palm is turned towards the viewer, the fingers are closed, and the finger-tips point downwards. Refer to Fig. 248, where (as often is the case) a rosary lies on the hand making the varada-gesture See also "abhaya-gesture".

Vīnā, f. — String-instrument, shown with one or two sound-boxes. BANERJEA 18, 3

Viśvapadma, n. — Lotus-blossom shown from the edge and provided with two rows of petals, one pointing upwards and one pointing downwards. SHAH, *Akota*, Fig 43.

Vyāla, m. — Rampant horned monster of lion-like character. Represented always as a complete figure, and not as a protome In iconoplastic art used as a throneframe-animal. Fig. 30.

Waist-Roll — Roll below the navel which extends round the bodies of many standing and seated Jina-images from the early-medieval period. Fig. 100.

Worshipper — Seated figure with folded hands turned towards the main-figure. In the case of medieval Jina-images often two worshippers appear to the side of the main-figure (one to the right and one to the left) on approximately the same level. Fig. 247.

§ 14. ICONOGRAPHIC TYPES[1]

Ācārya — Jain monk shown in a preaching attitude (seated and holding a book in one hand). If ordinary "monks" are shown on the same panel, the "ācārya" is given the place of honour. Hence the use of the term "ācārya", denoting a person who occupies a higher position in the monastic hierarchy. Fig. 210.

Ambikā (general) — Jain goddess holding the hand-attributes *mango-bunch* and *child.* The vāhana is a lion, and a second child appears immediately below the hand carrying the mangoes. The top of a mango-tree with a seated miniature-Jina in it is shown above the head of the goddess. Ambikā is represented at Deogarh as a subsidiary figure (Fig. 232) and as a main-figure (Fig. 14). For the origin of the motif refer to Fig. 333.

Ambikā (Ambikā and her Partner) — Here Ambikā appears normally in a comparatively simple form and as a subsidiary figure on a Jina-image with a male figure of the same size shown on the opposite side (Fig. 136). Independent representations of the double-motif are however not missing (Fig. 18). — The male "partner" carries fruit and money-bag. This partner, although frequently shown in Jain art, has no very prominent position in the Jain pantheon For the origin of the motif refer to Fig. 333. See also § 264.

Ambikā (-in-triad) — Ambikā as a member of the triad "Nemi — Gomeda — Āmrā" as mentioned in § 15 (no. 22 of the list). This triad is *not found* at Deogarh.

Ambikā (other contexts) — See "yakṣas and yakṣīs" (2) and (3).

Bāhubalin — Brother of Bharata (which see) Both brothers renounced the world. Legend has it that Bāhubalin stood in motionless meditation until his body was covered with creepers and animals (snakes etc.). The great ascetic is always shown in this situation. He can be distinguished from a Jina mainly by virtue of the creepers and animals Fig. 138.

Bharata — Brother of Bāhubalin and son of the first Jina Ṛṣabha. Originally a universal emperor or *cakravartin* (to be more correct, the first of the twelve cakravartins known to Jain mythology), he later renounced the world, becoming a Jain monk. Like Bāhubalin, Bharata is always shown in a standing position He can be distinguished from a Jina only by the "jewels" (magic objects) of the cakravartin which are represented in the lower portion of his image. See Fig. 206 and von Glasenapp, p. 256 (14 "ratnas").

Cakreśvarī (Jain and Hindu) — Female form of Viṣṇu, known to the Jains as Cakreśvarī etc. and parallel in concept to the Hindu goddess Vaisnavī. The goddess

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[1] The descriptions given in this paragraph either refer to the form alone ("ācārya" etc.) or to both form and contents ("Bāhubalin" etc.) In some cases the form was disregarded in order not to overburden the text ("Sarasvatī" etc)

	was incorporated into the Jain pantheon both as a "vidyādevī" and as a "yakṣī" (partner of Gomukha: § 15, no. 1). Cakreśvarī is found at Deogarh as a subsidiary figure (Fig. 220: in-triad; Fig 231: not in-triad) and as a main-figure (Fig 250).
Gangā	See "river-goddesses".
Garuḍa (Jain and Hindu)	Mythological bird, represented in Jain art invariably as a human figure with wings and a "strand-circle". Employed mainly as the vāhana of Visnu and his female derivates (Cakreśvarī etc.). Fig. 227.
Gods etc	This expression covers gods and goddesses as well as the Jina (including related types) and the Buddha (§ 298).
Gomukha	In the Jain pantheon partner of Cakreśvarī (§ 15 no. 1) As the name suggests, Gomukha has the head of a bull. He is represented as a subsidiary figure (yaksa) At Deogarh his association with Cakreśvarī is not yet firmly established (Fig. 195/left: Gomukha with yaksī other than Cakreśvarī; Fig 220: Gomukha in-triad) See Fig. 333 and "yakṣas and yaksīs".
Graha	See "Navagrahas".
Jinas	The 24 saviours of Jain mythology. In art they are all represented in a more or less identical manner. See § 3 of the Introduction and § 13 ("Posture of the Jina") In theory each Jina-image can be identified by its cihna (§ 15) but the Deogarh artists omitted the cihna more often than not. In the case of Rsabha (1st Jina) and Pārśva (23rd Jina) additional methods of characterization are available and these have normally been used by the Deogarh artists (see "Rsabha" and "Pārśva"). — See also § § 15 (list of the Jinas) and 261-65
Ketu	See "Navagrahas"
Lakṣmī (Jain and Hindu)	Goddess of that name which is represented in art in more than one form. ZANNAS, 88. See also § 88.
Monk	Naked figure provided with an alms-bowl and a broom In contradistinction to the "ācārya", a monk is never represented with a book Nuns are distinguished from monks by the fact that they are dressed. Monks and nuns are always represented as miniature-figures. See Fig. 243 (figures on the pedestal)
Navagrahas (Jain and Hindu)	Nine miniature-figures appearing in one horizontal or in two vertical rows. The first seven grahas (singular:graha) are shown as complete human figures. No 8 (Rāhu) is a human head or a protome. No. 9 (Ketu) is hybrid: The upper part of the body is human, the lower part ends in a snake-tail (Nāga-type). Ketu is shown in male or, exceptionally, in female form The Navagrahas are incarnations of celestial bodies and the like. Figs. 8 and 146. — The bronzes of Western India show the Navagrahas in a very peculiar way: eight or nine heads appear in a horizontal row (SHAH, *Akota, passim*).
Nun	See "monk".

Pārśva
23rd Jina (see "Jina"). Pārśva is distinguished from the other Jinas mainly by his hood-circle (with or without coils below it). For the treatment of the snake-motif refer to the iconographic sections of the relevant chapters. The attendant-figures are typical (i.e. of the same type as those of the other Jinas) or atypical (see the description in § 78). — See also §§ 233 and 263-65.

Rāhu
See "Navagrahas".

River-Goddesses (Jain and Hindu)
Two goddesses standing on a tortoise and a makara respectively and representing the rivers Yamunā and Gangā. The lower door-jambs of the northern temples almost invariably show the two deities, one appearing on the left and one on the right jamb. If more than one figure is shown on each door-jamb, the river-goddess generally occupies the innermost position. Fig. 90 (Gaṅgā)

Rsabha
1st Jina (see "Jina") and father of Bāhubalin and Bharata (which see). Rsabha is distinguished from the other Jinas mainly by his hair (refer to the iconographic sections of the relevant chapters). At Deogarh the following two oppositions are in evidence: Rsabha with jatā — other Jinas without jatā (early-medieval period); Rsabha with lateral strands — other Jinas without lateral strands (medieval period). — See also §§ 263-65.

Sarasvatī (Jain and Hindu)
Goddess of that name which is represented in art in more than one form KRAMRISCH, *Art*, 137. See also § 88.

Sacred Couple
Male and female figures seated side by side under a tree. At least one of the two holds a child on its arm. See Fig. 180 and SHAH, *Studies*, 45f. For the context of the motif see Fig. 333.

Tārā (Jain and Buddhist)
Goddess with not more than two arms clasping with one hand a lotus which is usually springing out of the ground Tārā is depicted in Jain *art* but was not incorporated into the pantheon. See *Distinction*, Figs. 1-3 (Jain Tārā) and THAPAR, 31f. (Buddhist Tārā).

Vidyādevīs
Series of 16 Jain goddesses. See § 87 and "yaksas and yakṣīs".

Yaksas and Yaksīs
Divine beings associated in the Jain pantheon with the Jinas. Each of the 24 Jinas has his respective yaksa (male) and yakṣī (female) See §§ 15 and 264. In art, yaksa and yakṣī appear in more than one form. (1) As subsidiary figures to the lower right and left of the Jina and identical with the yaksa and yakṣī attributed in the pantheon to the respective Jina (Fig. 218: Ṛṣabha-Gomukha-Cakreśvarī); (2) at the same places, but in a constellation which is not in agreement with the pantheon (Fig. 231: Rsabha-Ambikā-Cakreśvarī); (3) as independent figures (Fig. 14: Ambikā).

Besides there are figures occupying the places described in (1) but showing only a remote similarity with yakṣas and yaksīs of the pantheon. They are found both with Jinas (Fig. 198) ***and with non-Jinas*** (Fig. 208: Ambikā). We call such figures "yakṣas

and yakṣīs in their widest sense". — The series of the 24 yakṣīs overlaps the series of the 18 vidyādevīs. It is therefore often doubtful whether a figure has to be classified as a yakṣī or as vidyādevī. Special attention should be paid to the fact that a goddess derived from Viṣṇu appears in both series (see "Cakreśvarī")

Yamunā — See "river-goddesses".

§ 15. LIST OF THE 24 JINAS

	Jina	*Yakṣa*	*Yakṣī*	*Cihna*
1.	Vṛṣabha (Ṛṣabha, Ādinātha, Ādideva, Purudeva)	Gomukha	Cakreśvarī	bull
2.	Ajita	Mahāyakṣa	Rohiṇī	elephant
3.	Sambhava	Trimukha	Prajñapti	horse
4.	Abhinandana	Yakṣeśvara	Paviśṛnkhalā	monkey
5.	Sumati	Tumbara	Khaḍgavarā	curlew
6.	Padmaprabha	Puṣpa	Manovegā	red lotus with seven petals
7.	Supārśva	Mātanga [cf. 24]	Kālī	swastika
8.	Candraprabha	Śyāma	Śrījvālinī	crescent
9.	Puṣpadanta (Suvidhi)	Ajita	Mahākālī	crab or fish or makara
10.	Śītala	Brahman	Mānavī	Ficus religiosa
11.	Śreyāmsa	Īśvara	Gaurī	Garuḍa
12.	Vāsupūjya	Kumāra	Gāndhārī	buffalo
13.	Vimala	Caturmukha	Vairoṭī	boar
14.	Ananta	Pātālaka	Anantamatī	bear
15.	Dharma	Kinnara	Mānasī	thunderbolt
16.	Śānti	Garuḍa	Mahāmānasī	antelope
17.	Kunthu	Gandharva	Jayā	goat
18.	Ara	Khendra	Tārāvatī	fish
19.	Malli	Kubera	Aparājitā	water-pot
20.	Munisuvrata	Varuna	Bahurūpiṇī	tortoise
21.	Nami	Bhṛkuṭi	Cāmuṇḍā	Aśoka tree or blue lotus with five petals
22.	Nemi (Ariṣṭanemi)	Gomeda	Āmrā[1]	conch-shell
23.	Pārśva	Dharana	Padmāvatī	snake
24.	Vardhamāna (Mahāvīra)	Mātanga	Siddhāyikā	lion

The names are taken *verbatim* from Digambara sources: *Mahāpurāṇa* by Jinasena and Gunabhadra in the edition of Pannālāl Jain (*Jinas*); Sanskrit verses compiled by Pt. Bhagwan Das Jain which are printed without mention of the sources in Appendix C of PHERU (*yakṣas and yakṣīs*)[2], a list appearing on p. 491 of VON GLASENAPP (*cihnas*). Wherever the Jains used names

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[1] Other forms of the name met with in literature are Ambā, Ambikā, Kuṣmāṇḍī, and Kuṣmāṇḍinī. "Āmrā" is only an incorrect sanskritization of "Ambā", stemming from the fact that the mango-tree (*āmra*) is an attribute of the goddess. In other words, we have only two original names, viz. Ambā/Ambikā and Kuṣmāṇḍī/Kuṣmāṇḍinī. Following the practice of Dr. U. P. Shah, we use the more frequent form "Ambikā".

[2] More than three quarters of the names appearing in this list and in the Digambara list published by James Burgess (*Indian Antiquary* 32, 1903, pp. 461 foll.) are identical. Both lists are much nearer to each other than to the Śvetāmbara tradition as it is known to us. For the Digambara tradition refer also to Āśādhara's *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra* (Bombay, samvat 1974) and to the *Tiloyapaṇṇatti* (Sholapur 1943/51).

or titles for their Jinas which are not mentioned in the Mahāpurāna these have been added in brackets. In addition, all names can be *enlarged upon* by titles. These are "-nātha" in the case of the Jinas (probably only if the name does not have more than two or three syllables); "-yakṣa" in the case of yaksas; "-yaksī" or "-devī" in the case of yakṣīs. The names given above represent the last stage in the development of the yakṣa-yakṣī pantheon (refer to § 264). — Compare also the survey published by U. P Shah (*20th A.-I. Oriental Conference*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 141-52). It would appear that nothing was more unstable than the iconography and nomenclature of medieval goddesses appearing in series. Instances of wrong and irregular labelling (§ 83) are found in the case of the yaksīs and in similar series: *Distinction* § 9; HARLE, *Temple Gateways* (Oxford 1963), pp 103 foll. and especially p. 104, footnote 5; E. and R. L. WALDSCHMIDT, *Musikinspirierte Miniaturen*, Teil I (Berlin 1966), pp. 37-40. The names were often derived from specific sections of the Sanskrit vocabulary (e.g. from the designations of botanical species, of hand-attributes etc).

CHAPTER TWO

SURVEY OF THE HINDU MONUMENTS OF DEOGARH[1]

§ 16. Deogarh (correctly transcribed: *Devgaḍh* or *Devgaṛh*) is a place-name which occurs frequently. The first part of it is derived from the Sanskrit *deva* "god" and often appears as the initial part of place-names. The second part is the term for a large fort (the term for a small fort is *gaḍhī*). Our Deogarh is situated in the Jhansi District of Uttar Pradesh, seven miles south-west of Jakhlaun (on the Bhopal-Jhansi railway-line) by road. Its location is described on page 10 of the *Jhansi District Gazetteer*, in *MASI* 70, p. 1[2], and can also be seen from the maps "One Inch Sheet 54L/2" and "One Inch Sheet 54L/6" (Fig. 391). When listing the Hindu monuments we start with the Fort, then, proceeding from east to west, come the sculptures on the cliff which drops precipitously towards the Betwa, we then survey the monuments in the plain where the village of Deogarh is situated (going from south to north); and lastly we glance at the temples of Kuchdon (about 2 miles east of Deogarh, see again Fig. 391).

1. THE FORT ON THE HILL. The village of Deogarh is situated a few hundred yards west of the hill. The path leading from the village to the Jain temples in the eastern part of the Fort goes through the west gate and crosses the entire site Only the village bears the name of Deogarh, not the Fort. According to CUNNINGHAM (Volume 10, p. 100) this had the name Karnāli. It was built in samvat 1154 during the reign of the Candella King Kīrtivarman and was known as Kīrtigiridurga (§ 44), and (judging by the architecture of the west gate) it was given its present form under Bundela Princes. The Fort is made up of an external wall (which is only interrupted where the hill descends steeply towards the Betwa) and of various internal walls which further subdivide the area covered by the Fort A circular structure (above the Rājghāṭī, see below), the west gate already mentioned and an east gate (south-east of the Jain temples) are worthy of special note. According to Mukherji the west gate bears the names "Hati Darvaja" (Hāthī Darvāzā) and "Delhi Darvaja" i e Elephant Gate and Delhi Gate There is a short description of the Fort on p. 8 of SAHNI.

2. THE VARĀHA-TEMPLE. This is situated in the south-west corner of the Fort Nothing has been left of this, apart from the foundations, a number of architectural fragments and some reliefs. A short description is contained in SAHNI (see also *ASIAR* 1917/18, Pt. I, p. 7 and Pl. 1b).

3. NĀHAR GHĀṬĪ (Lion's Steps) This is the most easterly of the three "Ghātīs". Normally, the word *ghāṭī* means "gorge", "valley". Here it is used in the sense of *ghāt* (steps) and describes the three steep flights of steps which are hewn in the cliff and which lead down from the plateau with the Fort to the Betwa. In the main the steps run parallel to the wall of the cliff (and to the river). If the descent is made via the Nāhar Ghātī and the Ghātī with the Siddh-kī-Guphā the cliff wall is on the left — when descending via the Rājghātī the cliff wall is on the right The cliff above the steps of the three ghātīs is adorned by Gupta sculptures and inscriptions dating from various periods. The Nāhar Ghāṭī has about a dozen niches

[1] It is true that almost all the monuments enumerated here are mentioned somewhere in the literature on Deogarh — but no single exhaustive list exists. — Only the older inscriptions and the Gupta temple have been dealt with systematically.

[2] Text quoted in § 337.

which house lingas and various deities, and from the archaeological point of view, it is the richest of the three flights of steps (*Epigraphia Indica* XVIII, p. 125; SAHNI, p. 10). The following inscriptions are to be found: a *Gupta inscription* (*List I*, No. 58; *List III* No. 1; *Epigraphia Indica* XVIII, No. 15, pp. 125-127); *two Nāgarī inscriptions* (one a fragment), which have not previously been noted anywhere, *remains of "shell characters"* (also not previously recorded).

4. RĀJGHĀTĪ OR KĀTĪ GHĀTĪ ("King's Steps" *or* "Hewn" i.e. artificial "Steps"). The Rājghāṭī accommodates more than a dozen niches with liṅgas and statues. The sculptures are very small, however, and some are unfinished. The following inscriptions are to be found: the large *Kīrtivarman Inscription* (*List I*, No. 54; *List III*, No. 135; *Indian Antiquary* XVIII, p. 237ff. and XIX, p. 36, No. 61; V. V. MIRASHI, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, pp. XCVII-XCVIII; see § 44 and § 46 below), *two further medieval inscriptions* (*List II*, Nos. 4 and 5); *three inscriptions in later Nāgarī* (two of these are mentioned in *List III* as Nos. 136 and 137). The Kīrtivarman inscription of samvat 1154 is, together with an inscription on a memorial-stone (*List II*, No. 13: samvat 1118) and a pillar inscription (*List III*, No. 138: allegedly samvat 1016), the only inscription outside the Jain temples which bears a relatively early date.

5. GHĀTĪ WITH THE SIDDH-KĪ-GUPHĀ ("Saint's Cave") at its lower end. The cave is artificial or enlarged artificially. It is completely plain, however. To the right of the cave the goddess Mahisāsuramardinī is portrayed. There are the following inscriptions: *one Gupta inscription* (CUNNINGHAM, *Report* No. X, p. 102 and Pl. 33, 1; *List I*, No. 55; *List III*, No. 2), *four inscriptions in late Nāgarī* (*List III*, Nos. 2 [sic!], 130-132), *three panels with shell characters* (*List III*, Nos. 133-134) By the side of the inscriptions appear primitive drawings of a later period.

6. THREE NICHES with weather-worn figures which have become completely indistinct, by a tank referred to as "baoli" (*bāvli*, originally "*well* which is reached down some steps") and situated below the south-west corner of the Fort. — Two inscribed fragments noticed by the baoli (*List III*, Nos. 138-139) cannot be traced either here or elsewhere.

7. REMAINS OF AN OLDER SETTLEMENT to the north-west of the present village. A main road can still be seen clearly, and in the vernacular the remains have for this reason been given the name "bazar". There is no evidence to suggest that "Old Deogarh" is of any considerable antiquity.

8. Unadorned MEMORIAL-STONES of relatively recent date with late Nāgarī inscriptions which are difficult to read, in the immediate vicinity of the village. Twelve dated variously from 1670-18xx (*List III*, Nos. 143-154) were noticed by Sahni. See also *List II*, No. 14.

9. Three medieval MEMORIAL-STONES. Two of them with good reliefs and short inscriptions are to the north-west of the village, near the bank of the river (probably the inscriptions Nos. 141-42 in *List III*). A third memorial-stone, dating from the year samvat 1118 is situated (according to Hargreaves) near the Gupta temple (*List II*, No. 13).

10. WELL with inscription near the village (*List III*, No. 140).

11 THE "GUPTA TEMPLE". The name was assigned to the temple by Cunningham. Other names are Daśāvatāra Mandir ("The Temple with the Ten Incarnations") and Sāgar Marh ("The Temple by the Well"). The building was apparently discovered by Captain Charles Strahan (CUNNINGHAM, *Report* No. 10, p. 104f.). It was investigated by Cunningham, Hargreaves, D. R. Sahni, Y. R. Gupte, M. S. Vats. The last-named authority gave a description of the temple and the fragments associated with it in his monograph *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh* (*MASI* 70). — The first protective measure taken was the erection of an undressed stone-wall around the temple itself by the Public Works Department.

The entire temple-complex was then excavated by Sahni and the wall was removed again. Vats erected the present enclosure and built a small museum outside the temple area for the sculptural remains. The purely architectural remains are mostly inside the enclosure; a few were placed against the outer wall of the museum A number of figure reliefs have been taken to the National Museum in New Delhi. Vats also investigated the surrounding area for sculptures and his efforts added considerably to the material available. Nevertheless, further investigation would still have much to offer (*Indian Archaeology* 1958/59, Pl. 75 D). The temple is now kept under constant surveillance by the Archaeological Survey. For example, a few years ago they were responsible for the removal of the blackish lichen which had formed on the temple reliefs at various places. — A small but richly-illustrated guide to the Gupta temple has been published by Madhuri Desai (*The Heritage of Indian Art*, No. 1: *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, 1958).

12 The FRAGMENTS which either do not belong to the Gupta temple or else have not yet been assigned to it. The period of these pieces, the present location of which was given in the preceding paragraph, ranges from the Gupta period to the late Middle Ages A number of fragments dating from the Gupta or post-Gupta period, whose association with the Gupta temple is not in all cases impossible, have been described by Vats in his monograph. The author of this work has however not systematically discussed the question whether this or that piece originally belonged to the temple and whether there were other temples belonging to the Gupta or post-Gupta period whose existence could be ascertained from the fragments. Also excavations going beyond the task of uncovering the area of the Gupta temple were not undertaken. — Inscriptions: *Gupta Inscription of Govinda* (*List III*, No. 3; *MASI* 70, pp. 3 and 28-29; normal script and shell characters); *some shell characters* on an architectural fragment inside the wall (not yet recorded anywhere); *three fragments with medieval inscriptions* in the Museum (not yet recorded anywhere)

13. EARLY-MEDIEVAL TEMPLE, north-west of Kuchdon. The temple is mentioned in *ASIAR* 1915/16, Part I, p. 17, and a photo of it appears as Pl 2b of this report. The exact position can be seen from Fig. 391 which demonstrates the value of large-scale maps for the archaeologist For the temple is not mentioned in any other work except that report, and until quite recently[1] it could be regarded as forgotten. Nevertheless, following its discovery it had been restored and since that time it has been in perfect condition. Beside the temple a number of architectural fragments are to be found, among them interesting fragments of a crenellated parapet with early-medieval scroll-work. According to *ASIAR* 1915/16, Pl. 2b the temple bears the name Kuraiya Bir

14. EARLY-MEDIEVAL TEMPLE not far from Kuchdon in the jungle The temple which to my knowledge has never been mentioned elsewhere has collapsed completely The structure was not large but it did have a śikhara

[1] A short monograph on it has now been prepared by Krishna Deva

CHAPTER THREE

CATALOGUE OF THE JAIN TEMPLES[1]

§ 17. The plan prepared by P. C. Mukherji and which is reproduced as Fig. 1 gives an idea of the whole complex. Our plan (Fig. 392) shows the respective positions of Temple No. 12 and the structures surrounding it, in other words the positions of No. 12 itself (vimāna and porch), of the hall and portico in front of it, of the Shrines Nos. 12 A-12 L (in the case of some of these only the foundations remain), and of Temples 8, 11, 13-15. The drawings by Mukherji and the photos of individual temples and groups of temples prepared under Sahni show the condition of the site prior to the restoration carried out by the Jains in this century. One of these photos was published in *ASIAR* 1917/18 Part I as Plate IIa. It shows wholly or in part the Temples (from left to right) Nos. 24, 23, 16, 12 A, 15, 13, 12 B, 12 C, 12 (with hall and portico) and 7. A second photo from Sahni's collection (Agra 2207) is published in the present work as Fig. 2 It supplements the first photo since it shows Temples No. 12 (with hall and portico), No 13, and No. 14 from the north-west. Temple No 11 appears in the right background The recent photo reproduced as Fig. 3 was taken from a similar angle. It shows a part of the śikhara of Temple No. 12, the hall in front of No. 12 (now without parapet and with a platform added to it), the repaired Temple No. 14, and the re-erected pillar P 2 (compare Fig. 392). In the time of Fig. 2 the socle of pillar P 1 was visible above the ground (it is however not possible to see this from the picture). In the recent photo of Fig. 3 the lower part of pillar P 1 is sunk into the platform. In the other recent photo (Fig. 4) the angle has been changed by 45° compared to the photo published in *ASIAR*. From left to right the Temples Nos. 19, 18 (with both pillars), 28, 30, 31, 24 A, 24, 23, 17, 16, 14, and the pillar P 2 can be seen As compared with the *ASIAR* photo the most conspicuous changes are the erection of the wall and the restoration of Temple No. 14.

The information given below and the conclusions reached are relevant in the first place to the history of the construction of the temples (*Baugeschichte*) We mention immediately after the number of the temple the period to which it is assigned The periods are dealt with in §§ 26-32. Whenever it was difficult to establish the period of a temple or of any architectural object we preferred a rough classification ("III/IV", "IV/V"). Cases of this kind are discussed in § 30. The pavilions of the temples and all towers (turrets) and cupolas belong to Period VI (except the śikharas of Temples Nos. 5, 12, and 28). No special indication is made of this fact. The size and position of the temples and the number of pillars is evident from Mukherji's plan (Fig. 1). The character of the masonry is determined in most cases by the period. For the types of masonry typical of the individual periods the reader is referred to §§ 26-32. The temples of Period II show rich architectural embellishment The later temples are unadorned

[1] The temples could only be described in a cursory manner. It was not possible to give more details in the case of one temple than in the case of another For this reason the description was kept to a minimum in order to assure uniformity. The reader will obtain additional information from Chapter 5 and Figs. 1-6, 155, 392-93. Architectural details appear also in Figs 7 (garbhagṛha of Temple No. 12), 15 (south-east corner of the same garbhagṛha), 81 (south-west corner of the pradakṣiṇapatha of Temple No. 12), 140 (veranda of Temple No. 15), 178 (Wall-Section XV), 83 (chamber in the hall in front of Temple No. 12), 157-58 (niches of Temple No. 15), 210 (backwall of Temple No. 1), and 290-292 (details of door-frames: Temples Nos. 11, 5, and 12).

except for the door-frames. Temples which are stated to have a "main-room" (Nos. 2-4, 9, 11, 16-20) or a "śikhara" (Nos. 5, 12, 28) are hall-temples and śikhara-temples respectively. The temples have been described by Cunningham (*Report*, No. 10), Mukherji, and Sahni. It did not appear necessary to refer to these descriptions in the case of each individual temple. A comment on the value of these sources is to be found in § 20

In the case of each temple the number of the inscriptions connected with it is mentioned. As most of the inscriptions appear on images this figure gives also a rough idea of the number of images carrying inscriptions. The number of images actually dealt with follows from § 331. The total number of the images standing in a particular temple has not been given.

§ 18. TEMPLE NO. 1. Periods IV/V and VI. Consists mainly of a platform, built of well-dressed medieval blocks and provided with string-courses on its upper edge. The string-courses have been preserved in part. By the time of the discovery all traces of the structure originally resting on the platform had disappeared. Cunningham recorded that he saw a hall there with twenty pillars, but in Mukherji's day only four pillars (supporting a section of a roof) remained on the west-side of the platform. Mukherji also noticed a section of a parapet (running along the west-side) of which the two western pillars formed an integral part The hall with twenty pillars was probably a structure built in Period VI from re-used material. Temples of unconventional design were not unusual at this time. Mukherji saw that the parapet was provided on both sides with carved slabs of a particular type found frequently in medieval Deogarh ("frieze-slabs", see Fig. 210 and § 231) Other slabs of this type lay scattered over the surrounding area. While carrying out the restoration-work the Jains have extended the extant hall-section both to the north and to the south The hall now consists of eight pillars supporting a roof, and the parapet has been provided with twenty slabs (twelve on its west-side and eight on its east-side) It is thus a reduced version of the temple of period VI. It remained incomplete as on the north-side the hall is shorter than the parapet and as on both sides the parapet is shorter than the platform. There are several corner-slabs (carved on one of their broader sides and on one of their narrower sides), and this shows that the slabs were originally fixed on the outer sides of a structure (or core of masonry) rising over a square or rectangular plan. Similar slabs are actually found on the four sides of the huge caumukha near the village of Indor. They form a continuous panel above the four Jina-images. It is of course not necessary to conclude that *all* extant "frieze-slabs" at Deogarh originally served this or a similar purpose. It is obvious that this type of slab became divorced from its architectural function, as is also the case with pillars and capitals. We can nevertheless imagine that all the slabs found *on or near* Temple No. 1 were used for the pillared structure of Period VI. They possibly appeared on both sides of a parapet running along the four sides of the platform. That this was their original purpose seems to be ruled out by the fact that the slabs vary greatly in style. It is however theoretically possible that some of the slabs (i.e a number of pieces following the same style) originally embellished the outer sides of a similar smaller structure (Periods IV/V). — Five pillars, all to be dated in the medieval period are standing to the west and to the south of the temple. These are of three different types: A large type showing rich ornamentation (one example), a medium-sized type of somewhat simpler design (two examples), and a small unpretentious type dating from the late-medieval period (two examples). A plain pillar carrying an inscription of the 16th century stands to the west of the temple in the jungle. — The total of the inscriptions appearing on the temple, on the pillars, and on scattered fragments is 28.

TEMPLE No. 2 (condition in 1957:) Period IV (refer also to the inscription of samvat 1051 p. 46). Main-room with cella and veranda. The roof of the veranda rests on two rows of pillars, the pillars in the front-row being detached and the pillars in the back-row forming part of the front-wall of the structure. The northern-most detached pillar is missing as is the northern-most third of the roof of the veranda According to Mukherji's plan the veranda had lateral walls, but there is no indication that such walls ever existed. Of the cella only the foundations are left (according to Mukherji's panoramic drawing the cella was intact in his days). The roof supports a pavilion. This is not placed in the centre but borders on the east wall of the main-room. The door-frame is plain. The images and sculptural fragments inside and outside the temple bear 12 inscriptions All the three images of the "Date-Group" (§§ 178-81) stand in this temple. — In the course of restoration carried out since 1957 the veranda was removed and the aperture in the backwall leading to the former cella closed up. The three Jina-images placed in a horse-shoe-arrangement on the foundations of the cella and a single Jina-image standing to the south of the temple were brought into the interior. The slabs of which the temple originally consisted were largely replaced by new ones.

TEMPLE No. 3 (condition in 1957:) Period IV. Double-temple. Two main-rooms placed wall to wall of which the left one has an upper storey In contradistinction to Temple No. 11 (see below) there is no flight of steps leading to the upper floor. The two main-rooms have no cellas but there is a continuous veranda (on both floors in the case of the left part). The left main-room has its rear-portion divided off. This forms a cella-like room extending along its entire width. In the upper storey only the front-wall (with the entrance) of this cella-like room is intact, while the roof and the three other walls have disappeared. It is no longer possible to state whether the right part originally also had two storeys. In this case Mukherji's panoramic drawing only indicates the existence of a ground floor. If Mukherji's plan (Fig. 1) is to be relied upon, the right part originally also had a separate room in the rear. However in 1957 the right part had already been replaced by a new structure This rose on the foundations, which can be dated in the medieval period (III/IV) on account of the well-dressed blocks and the string-courses In all probability the walls of the right part originally consisted of slabs like those used for the left part. — Seven inscriptions. Door-frame plain. — The recent restoration has also removed the left part of Temple No. 3 and instead there is now a one-storeyed structure built on the same lines as that on the right

TEMPLE No. 4. Period VI. Main-room with a porch. The porch carries a pavilion on its roof. No cella. The masonry of the temple consists largely of re-used material, but hardly shows any indication of modern repair-work When the porch was added holes were cut in the front-wall of the main-room to receive the beams supporting its roof (i.e. the roof of the porch) In cutting the holes part of the door-frame was also cut away The two detached pillars of the porch (samvat 1207 and samvat 1224) were taken from earlier structures. The same is probably true of the door-frame which is a fine piece of art (the unconventional door-lintel is worthy of note). It is likely that building was carried out in two phases. In the first phase the main-room was erected from re-used material and provided with the present door-frame. In the second phase the porch with the pavilion was added and thereby damage was caused to the door-frame. But *perhaps* the whole temple as it stands was built in period VI, and instead of employing the re-used material systematically the parts were cut until they obtained the proper fit. For the absolute date of the present structure refer to p. 50. It is however likely that the structure rises on medieval *foundations* (Period III/IV). This is supported by the great

number of images (some of them belonging to the early-medieval period) and by the fact that all other temples of any size go back to the medieval period. — 15 inscriptions.

TEMPLE No. 5. Periods IV/V (refer to the inscription of samvat 1120, p. 47). Fig. 291. The cella with the śikhara rises on a plinth which in its turn is supported by a platform. The square interior is occupied almost completely by a sahasrabimbastambha (p. 16). There is so little space between it and the wall that a circumambulation is not possible. The crowning member of the stambha is a separate piece differing from the rest in style. The cella has two doors with richly decorated frames (facing east and west) and two blind doors (facing north and south). The śikhara contains re-used material employed for its construction or for restoration-purposes. That it is original can be concluded from the existence of the blind doors. As the object of worship was meant to be seen from four sides the best solution would have been to have *four* doors. But on account of the weight of the śikhara only *two* of the four walls of the substructure were provided with true doors. The local name of the temple is "Lākh Putlī", i.e. the temple with a hundred thousand figures — In this century the śikhara was freed from the mortar-plaster covering it, no further work being carried out. — 5 inscriptions.

TEMPLE No. 6. Period VI. Small square cella with porch of equal size and with a "śikhara" approaching the shape of a cupola Small structure having no architectural merit whatsoever. Very minor repair-work was carried out in this century Door-frame plain. — 6 inscriptions appear on various objects inside and outside the temple.

TEMPLE No. 7. Period VI. Pavilion rising over a platform in which a pādukā (p. 16) is fixed. The pavilion was built in this century, but it keeps to the form of the earlier structure as it appears in Sahni's photo. As this photo shows, even the old pavilion had been built from re-used material. The pādukā there appears as a detached slab lying under the cupola, and it is probable that this is the original object of worship. The slab shows two feet carved in relief and an inscription with two dates (samvat 1693 and 1695) Besides this pādukā a second specimen is lying on the platform, having 24 pairs of feet but bearing no inscription

TEMPLE No 8. Period VI Oblong main-room with veranda along its wider side. It can be seen from Sahni's photo that the roof of the main-room, part of its walls, and the porch were destroyed The masonry consisted of well-dressed stones but the blocks varied in size and were interspersed with re-used material When repairing the temple in this century the Jains replaced the missing parts but adhered by and large to the old form The temple now has three entrances (with plain door-frames) in its wider side. — 7 inscriptions.

TEMPLE No. 9 Periods III and VI. Main-room with cella. The masonry consists of huge well-dressed blocks. Even at the time of its discovery the temple no longer existed in its original form. The cella and the rear part of the main-room had been repaired. With the exception of part of the left wall, the front-section of the main-room had disappeared. The rear section which remained was converted into a veranda closed in only on three sides the front of it being open The door-frame of the entrance leading to the cella was put back by a few inches. It is however very much open to question whether the present door-frame is in fact original. — In this century some repair-work was carried out on the roof. — 4 inscriptions.

TEMPLE No. 10. Period VI. Four pillars, carrying a roof in the form of a flat pyramid-shaped turret, rise over a low platform. The pavilion shelters three free-standing pillars with counter-sunk panels on their four sides. On each of the faces of the pillars alternate panels

with miniature-figures (Jinas, ācāryas, monks, nuns) with panels bearing inscriptions. Leaving aside structures built from re-used material, No. 10 is the latest temple at Deogarh.

TEMPLE No. 11. Period IV (see also the inscription of samvat 1105, p. 47). Fig. 290. Main-room with cella and veranda. Like Temple No. 3 (left part) the temple consists of two storeys which are identical in plan. In this case however the storeys are connected by a flight of steps (in the north-eastern corner of the main-room). The inner door-frames are plain, the outer door-frames show rich embellishment. The relationship with Temple No. 3 (left part) is also apparent from the pilaster-pattern on the outer side of the wall-slabs. The design is however richer in the case of the present temple. Prior to its discovery temporary repairs had been carried out here and there. Further repair-work was carried out in this century and the temple is now in an excellent condition. The upper veranda is laterally closed, only the upper thirds of the sides being open. The side-walls here consist of benches with parapet-like back-rests as they are typical of the porches of the Khajuraho temples. In Sahni's day this applied only to the left side of the upper veranda while the right side was completely closed The ground at the site of the temple slopes some feet towards the south. It was therefore necessary to construct a terrace of undressed stones, the upper edge of which lies several inches below the level of the temple-compound Judging from the lay-out of the present temples it is not possible to say why this site was selected. A pillar was erected by the Jains in this century in front of the temple. The parts used for its construction vary in origin (refer to the inscription of samvat 1116, p. 47). The total of inscriptions appearing on the temple itself, on images and on the free-standing pillar is 21. Many of the "inscriptions" consist of names incised on the outer walls of the structure.

TEMPLE No. 12 [ETC.] Figs. 2-3. As has been said before, our number ("No. 12") refers only to the *vimāna* with the porch (Period II). The following structures adjoin Temple No 12 at its front: Two small *shrines* rising on comparatively high platforms and flanking the main entrance; a short *connecting platform* linking the vimāna with the *hall* and on a level with the hall, the hall itself; a flight of *steps* leading down from the hall to the portico; the *portico* itself All parts of the complex are arranged in axial alignment. The vimāna with the porch is earlier than the rest, but it is not possible to fix the chronological order of the other parts with any degree of accuracy. — The total of inscriptions connected with this complex is 108. Out of these 42 appear on the śikhara-niches on the outer walls of the vimāna

The *vimāna* (see also Fig. 6) consists of a garbhagṛha or cella surrounded by a pradakṣinapatha, and of an antarāla in front of the garbhagṛha The outer walls of the pradakṣinapatha have been breached by four entrances, situated roughly in the middle of the sides. The western entrance ("main entrance") is larger than the rest. It is approached through the porch, the roof of which is supported on its front-side by four pillars with irregular intercolumnations. If there were any steps leading up to the main door these have now sunk in the platform between the vimāna and the hall. The small entrances on the three other sides are devoid of porches. Each is reached by two or three steps which are bordered by low walls. The level of the garbhagṛha is 2'4" below the level of the pradakṣiṇapatha and it is reached from there along a short flight of steps. The ceiling of the garbhagṛha is flat and unadorned In the centre of its backwall stands the main-idol which measures 17'3" (including the parikara). On account of five inscriptions (samvat 919, 1051, 1493, 1695, and one undated: see the hall) this can be identified as Śāntinātha. See Figs. 7 foll. and 394. The ceiling of the pradakṣinapatha is supported by cross-beams, the inner ends of which rest on corbels projecting from the outer

walls of the garbhagṛha. The roof of the pradaksinapatha is flat. The roof of the porch is no longer extant. As the pillars of the porch are rather weak the roof must have been lightly built (consisting of a flat ceiling without any crowning feature) Over the cella with the pradakṣiṇapatha rises the śikhara (which is hollow). Each of its four surfaces is relieved by five pāgas (p. 14). The front-face shows the usual śukanāsā. The interior of the śikhara can be reached by crawling through a short and narrow passage four or five feet above the level of the roof of the pradakṣiṇapatha. The aperture is in the centre of the śukanāsā (see Fig. 2). — As the temple is mentioned in the pillar-inscription of samvat 919 (p 46) it must have been built prior to this date. Besides, it is apparent from the style that Temple No. 12 as well as the pillar with the said inscription are from an earlier period than the so-called Caturbhuja Temple at Gwalior which is dated samvat 932 (Fig. 382). It is difficult to establish the exact chronological relationship between Temple No. 12 and the pillar of samvat 919, as this type of pillar does not recur in the architecture of the temple. It is however unlikely that both are separated by too considerable a period. We may therefore safely assume that Temple No. 12 was built ca. samvat 900. See also § § 27, 77, and 255.

The two door-frames are lavished with decoration (Figs. 196, 249 and 292). They do not form part of the original temple. The inner one bears an inscription stating that it was put up in samvat 1051. In style it can be compared with the ruined temple at Gyaraspur known as Āth Khambh. This carries a pilgrim's record of samvat 1039 (see *INI* 89) and was probably not constructed much earlier than this. When the inner door-frame of Temple No 12 was inserted part of the masonry to its left and to its right was cut away. — In the case of the outer door-frame the *sill* is old. The two jambs were erected in samvat 1133 as is evident from an inscription appearing on one of them. The present lintel which was obviously also inserted in samvat 1133 is a re-used piece of inferior quality. — In samvat 1210 two projecting niches were fixed on the left- and right-hand walls of the garbhagṛha The images which they were meant to receive have since disappeared. At a date unknown to us the roof of the pradaksinapatha was provided with a crenellated parapet. This marks the end of the construction of the temple. Later on the śikhara underwent repair. The surface was finished with mortar and the embrasures of the parapet were closed with a filling of mortar Finally the whole structure was whitewashed from top to bottom, inside and out. At the time of its discovery the whitewash was for the most part no longer in evidence. Before the destruction of the Jain compound (or just in between two raids) the access to the temple in general and to the main-idol in particular was blocked. A wall was built in front of the main entrance, and an additional wall traversed the cella in a north-south direction. At that time access to the main-idol was possible only through a small and narrow aperture. Both the walls were removed in this century. Their original position is however indicated in Mukherji's plan no. 17 which may be compared with our Fig. 393. The presence of the protecting wall in the garbhagṛha explains why the main-idol and the two Ambikās flanking it (Nos. 3 and 4) have come down to us intact. The two other Ambikās in the cella (Nos 2 and 5) were damaged by the raiders (§ § 50 and 58) and this is also true of the images standing in the pradakṣiṇapatha. — In the course of the restoration work carried out in this century the śikhara was thoroughly repaired. The outer walls being no longer waterproof, rain leaked into the hollow interior. Therefore the broken blocks or slabs of the inner layer were replaced by new ones in 1938. This necessitated the removal of the outer layer, i.e of the sculptured slabs covering the surface of the śikhara A large number of stones were taken down and set up again To retain the correct order the slabs were numbered prior to this and these numbers may still be seen today. During

these operations the mortarplaster was removed from the stones. The crowning members of the śikhara above the āmalaka had been lost They were now replaced by new pieces which did not preserve the original form. The crenellated upper part of the parapet was removed completely. A monolithic pillar (see Fig. 7) was inserted in the garbhagṛha. The roof of the porch was not restored, but the beams originally supporting it (best preserved on the front-side) show some indication of repair-work. This was possibly also carried out in this century.

The main-idol and the four Ambikās in the garbhagṛha belong to the original temple, and the same must apply to the seven images of the Double-Snake Group (§§ 73-78) leaning against the inner walls of the pradakṣinapatha. The inscriptions on the śikhara-niches (as a rule each niche bears the name of one Jina and of one goddess) and the extensive inscription covering the right-most pillar of the porch need not be exactly as old as the temple but they can hardly have been placed there more than a few years later (§§ 41, 83). The remaining inscriptions (i e those on the door-frame and a few others) were added subsequently. Besides the images mentioned the temple houses others (all standing in the pradaksiṇapatha). Almost all of them belong to the early-medieval period. But they are in no way connected with the temple nor are they necessarily in all cases as old as the temple.

The connecting platform (superimposed on the original floor of the porch) links the outer door-sill of the temple with the eastern side of the hall. Its level is so high that the outer door-sill (which is old) and the plinths of the four porch-pillars are partially sunk in it. It is not possible to say whether the connecting platform is later, earlier, or of the same age as the two shrines embedded in it. The area of the connecting platform (and of the two shrines) is covered by three intermediate roofs It is difficult to decide whether they were built before or after the discovery of the temples. They link the roof of the pradaksinapatha with that of the hall The *middle* roof extends over the porch which no longer has a roof of its own. The lateral roofs are somewhat lower and extend over the narrow space between the porch and the two shrines to its left and right. The pradaksinapatha-roof is reached from the hall-roof via the *middle* roof.

The two shrines (periods III/IV) face each other and are placed on high platforms which are partially hollow These adjoin the outer wall of the temple on their eastern side. The shrines are so low that an adult cannot stand up in them. In the case of the right-hand shrine the narrower sides of the slabs forming its lateral walls (appearing on the left and right of the door-frame) are but roughly dressed It might be assumed that the unfinished surfaces were originally covered by pillars or pilasters carrying the roof of a porch which is no longer extant. But open porches of early-medieval temples either have no pillars by the rear-wall (the beams being fixed in the wall without further support) or else they have pillars which form part of the wall (Shrine No 12 G) It is therefore not impossible that the walls extended another two or three feet forward, forming an *enclosed* porch. See Nos. 12 A, 12 B, 12 C, 12 H, 22 and 24 A. In the case of the left-hand shrine the entire frontwall (south-wall) is unoriginal, but it was probably built on the same lines as the right-hand shrine. The platforms on which the two shrines rest are quite smooth. Strange to say they do not show any traces of the conjectural porches. — The inner corners on the west-side of both the platforms just reach the outer (southern and northern) porch pillars of Temple No. 12 (Figs. 392, and 393 left). That the two shrines are later than Temple No 12 could be regarded as certain, even without this evidence. The left-hand shrine houses a Cakreśvarī, the right-hand one an Ambikā (Fig. 208), but only the Cakreśvarī-image reaches up to the ceiling. Judging by their style both shrines fall into the same time as the inner door-frame of Temple No. 12 (samvat 1051).

The Hall. Periods III-V. Square, flat-roofed hall on 36 pillars which immediately adjoins the porch of Temple No. 12 on its west-side. Why the floor of the hall (and as a consequence also the floor of the connecting platform) is so high (its level is only a few inches below that of the outer threshold of Temple No 12) cannot be established. — The socles of the outer pillars extend further up than the others since they originally belonged to a parapet which enclosed the entire hall. This parapet may still be recognized on Sahni's photograph (Fig 2). On the east and west-side the parapet was interrupted, of course, but at the sides it was closed. The hall is entirely unadorned but the fact that it is mentioned in a fragmentary inscription in medieval characters is evidence of its great age (12, 14: *Śānter jjinasyāgratah | śālām* .). See also Inscription 45 in the next chapter. The plain pillars of the hall strike one as being "late", but in the case of buildings with many pillars (monasteries, open halls), a simple pillar form was already employed in the Middle Ages. — The hall houses images, pillars and inscribed slabs The platform between the four central pillars (and the wall on its west-side which reached the ceiling of the hall) must be later additions. The same thing applies to the battlements which according to Mukherji's panoramic sketch did not only run round the roof of the pradakṣinapatha but also around that of the hall The last change made in antiquity was to face the battlements with the mortar. In the course of the restoration during this century the parapet was removed entirely, the battlement was freed of mortar and converted into a low wall and the platform mentioned turned into an enclosed shrine by the addition of three walls (to the east, south, and north), with the entrance towards the east (i.e facing the porch)

The steps. When the temple was discovered, the platform supporting the hall projected in the middle of its west-side slightly towards the west The platform then became a flight of four or five steps which led down to the portico In the course of modern repair work the platform was extended on its west-side up to the rear-side of the rear (eastern) portico pillars The staircase was retained but now had the appearance of being cut out of the platform. Similarly a small opening was left around a pillar standing to the west (i.e in front) of the hall so that it remained visible right down to the lower edge of the socle.

The literature on Deogarh has assigned the term "*portico*" to a structure made up of re-used material which stands at the foot of the steps leading to the hall (Period VI) See Fig 5 This structure consists of four pillars on which a square roof (with chajjā) rests. The two actual front pillars (they only begin above the two superimposed pillar plinths) date from the medieval period, are completely covered with carvings and probably originally formed part of a toraṇa At least in the case of the left-hand pillar the shaft was shortened in accordance with its new rôle. The rear pillars are quite different in form. They differ from one another and can be placed in the *early*-medieval period The left-hand pillar is upside down and the socle (which should appear on top) has been sawn off The right-hand one bears the famous Bhoja inscription of samvat 919. – A complete list of the architectural remains used in the construction of the portico can be dispensed with. At the time of the discovery only the roof was found to be damaged and this has since been repaired in part.

SHRINES Nos. 12 A-12 L. The greater part of the shrines so designated form a right angle parallel to the south-east corner of Temple No. 12. — Four inscriptions in all.

No. 12 A. Periods II and VI. Flat-roofed shrine. The porch, which was presumably closed, is no longer extant (see page 37). The roof, originally flat, had a square plinth added subsequently and a cupola placed upon that. Both these parts are made up of small stones of different sizes, employed without mortar After 1957 the plinth and cupola were faced with mortar

and whitewashed. The whitewash which ran down the plinth has formed an uneven white edge around the top of the old masonry.

No. 12 B. Period II. Shrine in the style of 12 A but with no subsequent additions. The side walls project slightly beyond the front-wall and this proves that the shrine originally had a closed porch.

No. 12 C. Period VI or earlier. Flat-roofed plain shrine which is greater in size than 12 A and 12 B. As is shown by the side walls which project considerably, the present shrine is only the rear section of the original structure which was much longer. The present front-wall is not the original one. It can be assumed that it replaces an older front-wall. The original structure therefore consisted again of a cella with a closed porch.

No. 12 D. Period II. Plinth of a shrine.

Nos. 12 E to F. Period II. Remains of the foundations of two shrines.

No. 12 G. Period II. The largest early-medieval shrine at Deogarh and at the same time the only Deogarh specimen preserved in its entirety Flat-roofed cella with open porch. At the front the entablature of the porch is supported by free standing pillars and at the rear by pilasters.

No. 12 H. Period II. Flat-roofed shrine like 12 A and 12 B. Porch originally closed (side walls project slightly)

Nos. 12 I, K and L — remains of shrine foundations.

PILLARS 1-6. Our Fig. 134 shows the position of the six standing pillars P 1 - P 6. Pillars 1 (in front of the hall) and 6 (in front of Temple No. 11) have already been mentioned. The six pillars are not uniform in character. The socles and capitals of the pillars P 1 and P 6 bear figures The two identical pillars P 2 and 5 have uninterrupted surfaces and all four sides of them are studded with miniature-Jinas. The pillars P 3 and P 4 show no figure sculpture. P 3 is a fragment and probably belonged, together with a pillar fragment which lies in front of it (the fragment is of the same design), to the porch of a richly decorated medieval temple which is no longer extant. Pillar 4, in contrast to the other pillars (which can all be placed in the medieval period) still belongs to the *early*-medieval period. In design it is related to the porch pillar of samvat 919. Nos. 1, 2, 4 (possibly), 5 and 6 are votive pillars (and free-standing from the outset). The pillars 1 and 4 were in the same position as they occupy at present at the time the temples were discovered. Additional pillars of varying character are to be found lying both inside and outside the area covered by the map of Fig. 392.

TEMPLE No 13 Periods III and IV. Small, oblong hall with the entrance in its longest side. The blocks on the north-side which can be seen in Sahni's photograph and those on the south and east-sides (still extant today) show that this is an early-m. temple. It must be earlier than the hall of Temple No. 12 since it meets it at an acute angle, i.e it was constructed without regard to the hall now immediately adjoining it. The original structure had already been repaired with re-used building material in Sahni's time. The modern temple follows the pattern set by its predecessor. The entrance remains at the western end of the north-side (longest side). Sahni's photo clearly shows that the entrance was at this point from the outset, i.e. that the back of the small Temple No. 13 was in front of the large Temple No. 12. That a small area in the right-hand part of the temple was separated from the rest can already be seen in Mukherji's site-plan (Fig. 1). Most of the original walls disappeared in the course of the modern restoration work. — 2 inscriptions.

TEMPLE No. 14. Period VI. Long room, veranda, two doors. Sahni's photo reveals that the temple had been severely damaged. It is no longer possible to establish whether the numerous re-used stones were there from the outset or whether they are merely traces of repairs carried out in antiquity. The new, modern structure is modelled on its predecessor for the most part. 5 inscriptions.

TEMPLE No. 15 Periods II and VI. The original parts are somewhat later than Temple No. 12 (§ § 27 and 255). Figs. 155 and 392. The only Deogarh temple with 3 cellas and at the same time the only temple in this locality which has an enclosed porch. Access to the cellas is gained through the square central room, the roof of which is supported by four heavy pillars. The three cellas do not extend down to any great depth since, in each case, a niche was hollowed out of the corresponding part of the outer wall. The porch has approximately the same plan as the projections to the rear and to the sides. The outer door-frame is richly adorned. The three inner ones are pretty simple. A pavilion rises over the flat roof. The temple houses five throneframe-images (cf No 13 and Nos 144-147 in Fig 392). In each of the niches three Jina-images stand, arranged in a manner reminiscent of a tritīrthikā (cf Nos 171-178 in Fig. 392). — The following repairs took place in antiquity. The upper sections of the outer walls which had been destroyed were restored. The porch was repaired, architectural remains being used. The frame of the niche on the left was restored with re-used material A door was cut through the rear-wall of the niche to the right, and the central (seated) image of that niche disappeared when this occurred A parapet was added to the roof and was faced with mortar, either immediately or subsequently. Minor restoration work was carried out in modern times on the pavilion, the roof (restoration of the parapet) and on the small flight of steps leading to the porch. — 14 inscriptions.

TEMPLE No 16 Periods III and VI. Structure with re-used material erected on early-m. foundations and incorporating remains of the original walls Elongated main-room with porch in the middle of the west-side (longest side) A pavilion is over the porch The temple houses three colossal images related to the "Double-Snake Group" of Temple No 12 — 4 inscriptions. — When the temple was discovered the building was in a good state of preservation so that no modern restoration work was necessary.

TEMPLE No 17. Periods III (? § 28) and VI. The temple stands on earlier foundations Main-room (with pavilion above it) and veranda. Plain door-frame — 4 inscriptions Very minor modern restoration work undertaken on the pavilion and on the roof.

TEMPLE No 18 Periods III/IV and VI Main-room with cella and veranda on a high medieval plinth. The plinth rises on the same plan as the present temple, i.e. the original temple also had a cella It either had a veranda, too, or a correspondingly larger main-room The inner and outer door-frames are richly carved. The śikhara over the cella is reminiscent of a cupola Some distance from the entrance stand two, identical, pillars. Both pillar socles bear an inscription One of the pillar-inscriptions reveals that the temple (i e. the original, medieval structure) already stood in samvat 1121 (§ 248). Temple No. 18 houses exclusively *late* images of the early-medieval period. The whole collection is of little merit (§ 160) Numerous names have been cut in the string-courses of the plinth Apart from these, no other inscriptions are to be found, whether it be on the building or on the images themselves. — In modern times a low terrace was built up in front of the temple and adjoining it. From there the porch is reached via a few steps The right-hand pillar (which had fallen on the ground) was set upright

once more and both pillars were set on the terrace in such a way that the south-sides of the pillar plinths fell in line with the south-side of the terrace.

TEMPLE No. 19. Period IV. After the reconstruction of Temples Nos. 2 and 3, which took place very recently, Temples Nos. 11 and 19 are the only temples preserved which have the original wall-slabs (i e. the old type of § 29). No 19 is made up of a medieval main-room and a late veranda. The front wall of the main-room with its sparsely-decorated door-frame still belongs to the medieval period and the veranda was simply added to it at a later date. In addition to this a pavilion was placed on the roof of the main-room. Inside, against the rear wall of the main-room, there is a long plinth richly decorated with mouldings for a kind of tritīrthikā — a seated image in the middle (only the pedestal preserved) and two standing double-images, one to the left and one to the right (§ 199). — 18 inscriptions. — Besides the usual improvements to the roof and the pavilion, the modern repair work has resulted in the removal of two veranda pillars. In Sahni's days this veranda still had two intermediate pillars: one at each end (between front pillar and back pillar), in addition to the four front pillars (free-standing) and the four back pillars (connected to the front wall of the temple). After 1957 the cupola of the pavilion was painted a raspberry colour — an attempt to imitate the dark red sandstone colour of the Deogarh temples.

TEMPLE No. 20 Periods III and VI. The building was erected on early-m. foundations and incorporates remains of the original walls. Main-room with cella (cella inadvertently omitted from Mukherji's map, see Fig. 1) Sparse decoration on the two door-frames (which differ in their design) 8 inscriptions Modern repairs carried out to the roof

TEMPLE No. 21 Period V. The temple is made up of two chambers which face each other The intervening space was roofed over and one side of the "courtyard" so created was closed. As a result the two chambers became merged into one building. The courtyard is entered via the open south-side (front side) and from there access is gained to the chambers to the right and to the left The structure is completely plain. The majority of the images belong to the Guṇanandin- and Cihna-Groups (§§ 235A-241). A photo by Sahni was not available. 12 inscriptions.

TEMPLE No. 22. Period II. Small, flat-roofed shrine. The old porch which was, we assume, closed (cf. p. 37) has disappeared. The present porch, like the cupola over the cella, is a later addition 2 inscriptions.

TEMPLE No. 23. Period VI. Wretched structure: cella with porch and cupola The whole stands on a raised platform. Repairs to the roof of the porch in this century. 5 inscriptions.

TEMPLE No. 24. For period see § 30 Small medieval shrine on a raised platform. The porch — which was no doubt an open one — has disappeared. Later a pyramid-shaped tower was built on top of the cella. The outer walls of the cella have projections and recesses which are typical of the medieval period. And this is found nowhere else in Deogarh except in No 28. An isolated inscription. Some slight repair-work carried out this century.

TEMPLE No. 24 A. Period II. Flat-roofed shrine. Right outer wall monolithic and probably re-used. The present roof probably the result of modern repair-work. The original porch (probably closed) has disappeared (p. 37). 1 inscription.

[TEMPLES Nos. 25ff. It is tempting to think that the Temples Nos. 25-31 form a group *per se*

on account of their proximity to one another and the fact that they stand apart from the other temples. As the following will show however there is no intrinsic connection between them.]

TEMPLE No. 25. Period V. Small room with porch, pyramid-shaped śikhara and walls built of slabs. 2 inscriptions. Sahni's photo 2209 does not clearly show the condition before the modern restoration work.

TEMPLE No. 26 Period V. Main-room with veranda. The sides of the veranda are partially closed (compare Temple No 11). Once again the walls of the main-room consist of slabs. 10 inscriptions Only a few minor repairs carried out in this century.

TEMPLE No 27. Period II. As in the case of the two Temples Nos. 27 A and 27 B its condition prior to the modern restoration work is not revealed by Sahni's photograph Mukherji's drawing of Nos. 27, 27 A and 27 B (No "XXVII" in Fig. 1) is incorrect. No. 27 would appear to be an early-medieval cella, the upper part of which became modified in the course of repair work. 2 inscriptions.

TEMPLE No 27 A (to the right of No 27). In its present condition it is a simple oblong shape, divided into two rooms. Each room has a door of its own 1 inscription.

TEMPLE No. 27 B (to the right of No. 27 A). Period V-shrine Somewhat reminiscent of No. 25. Two rooms, one behind the other. The structure could also be termed a cella with a closed porch. The front section is surmounted by a pyramid-shaped tower 1 inscription.

TEMPLE No. 28. See § 30 and p. 50. The only medieval śikhara-temple, apart from Temple No. 5. The śikhara is divided vertically by seven simple pāgas, the lower sections of which merge with the corresponding projections of the outer walls. Rectangular cella (at a right angle to the main axis of the temple) with an antarāla and an open porch which no longer exists. A richly-embellished door-frame. The cella is on a slightly lower level than the antarāla. In type the temple corresponds to the Pisnahārī-kā-Mandir of Udaipur (*Gwalior Gazetteer*, Pl. 265). The śikhara in particular may also be compared to that of Temple No. 5, although it corresponds more closely to the traditional form than does the latter The śukanāsā (Fig 264) is faced by images (a tritīrthikā — in several parts — in the centre, an image of the sacred couple to the left, a small tritīrthikā to the right) and architectural pieces of various kinds. Most elements of this śukanāsā-decoration (if not all) are re-used. — 4 inscriptions — A few minor repairs were carried out this century in the course of which the missing central image of the tritīrthikā was replaced by another seated Jina-image corresponding to it in size.

TEMPLE No. 29. Period V (?) No photo by Sahni available Now a simple cella which houses a tritīrthikā, the central image of which is missing. — 1 inscription.

TEMPLE No. 30. Period V. Main-room and veranda. Modern repairs carried out have not altered the temple drastically — but much of the old masonry has been lost in the process. Inside the remains of a tritīrthikā Art-thieves have despoiled these even further. An inscription on the central pedestal of the tritīrthikā.

TEMPLE No. 31. For period see § 30. Sahni's photo shows a half-destroyed medieval temple. It obviously consisted of but one room with a high ceiling Certainly, this building was once used to house a colossal image Nevertheless, the image shown in Sahni's photo would appear to be the present seated image, at any rate no colossal image is shown in his photo. The present Temple No. 31 is of recent construction. It cannot be determined from Sahni's photo

whether the richly-adorned door-frame, which was used when the present temple was created, was found in the ruins of the old temple. At any rate the door-frame is intact apart from the threshold. 1 inscription on the image mentioned.

§ 19 *Other architectural remains.* It would appear that when the temples were discovered some remains of small shrines not mentioned above were still to be seen here and there. These have since disappeared, however Mukherji's panoramic sketch also shows an indeterminate structure to the left of Temple No. 20. On Mukherji's map (Fig. 1) terraces have been indicated there and at various other points. Of the terraces which total four in number (west of Temple No. 20 and south-west of Temple No. 2) one is identical with our Temple No. 1 (above the Roman figure I on the map), whereas no trace can be found of the others. It is clear, however, that no temple has been removed or added since the time of Mukherji.

In earlier periods they were less conservative. There are large numbers of architectural remains at Deogarh from all the periods reviewed This leads us to the conclusion that in antiquity priority was given to new construction work rather than to repair work. For the most part these fragments are now to be found to the west of the Rampart (a few paces to the east of Nos 11 and 12) They reveal that at least one of the temples which have now disappeared was richly decorated. There are, to be exact, fragments of a medium-sized temple in the Khajuraho style: fragments of pillars, ceilings and toranas as well as a dozen blocks with wall-figures. The figures appear very Hindu in character but one of them represents a standing Jina. Therefore this was a Jain temple When creating wall-figures, the Jains widely followed Hindu iconography. There were no doubt other temples in addition — but in many cases, if not in all, these must have been temples with no particular embellishment, apart from that appearing on the door-frame. However, there are a few fragments dating from the early-medieval period which could have belonged to a temple of the type represented by No. 12 (§ 94). There are too few of them however to establish the *existence* of such a temple. In many cases what we have is probably material left over from the time the existing temple (No. 12) was built. (Pieces the measurements of which were incorrect and which therefore could not be used?) It is also possible that we are dealing with material from an unfinished building project. On the other hand, the two door-jamb fragments to the west of Temple No. 1 (to the right and to the left of the path) could have originally been part of Temple No. 12 (the present door-frames were in fact added subsequently).

Other images.[1] Sahni's photos show a considerable number of images and image fragments lying scattered around the area, and with a few (minor) exceptions these all date from the early-medieval period They are today to be found affixed to the Wall which will be described in the next paragraph. Viewing the situation as a whole, it will be seen that — with very few exceptions — most medieval images were and still are standing *inside* the temples. On the other hand very many early-medieval images (mostly not the best ones, it must be said) were and still are outside the temples. When temples were pulled down and reconstructed, images which were of poor or mediocre quality were probably left lying around in the vicinity, provided that the donor had been dead long since — much the same procedure as adopted with regard to old gravestones in a cemetery.

The simplest method of setting up such images outside a temple is either to lean these images up against a wall specially constructed for this purpose or to fix them to it. A wall of this type already existed in antiquity and its location may be seen from Mukherji's plan (Fig. 1).

[1] For a rough chronological classification of the images *in* the temples see Ch. 5.

The Wall (or rather that part of it which was still standing in Mukherji's days) appears as a thick line going south from No. 8 and then twisting northwards (see also § 20) A certain amount of material reported as standing by Mukherji was no longer there at the time of Sahni's visit but part of the structure can still be seen in Sahni's photographs (Fig. 2, behind the portico). In this present century the Jains set up a more extensive and thicker wall. The path taken by it corresponds to that of the ancient wall only where the right angle formed between Temples Nos 8 and 11 is concerned. The Wall has a main entrance — open at the top — in its western section and two narrow doors in its northern section (see our Fig. 392). Not only those pieces which were more or less intact were fixed to the Wall — the same procedure was adopted with regard to fragments. Before they were fixed the images were placed in some sort of order, standing images beside other standing ones, seated ones alongside seated images. Jinas were placed together and so were Ambikās The fact that they have been fixed to the Wall does not present any fundamental obstacle to the research worker — no damage having resulted Nevertheless the edges of all the images have been covered with mortar. In addition to this, water dripped down from the protecting roof which crowns the Wall and deposited on the images limestone dissolved from the mortar In a number of cases this has covered them with unsightly vertical stripes. — A number of fragments and relatively badly damaged images were not fixed to the Wall and they are still lying around the site (especially behind Temples Nos. 12 and 16).

The Caumukhas A distinction can be made between an iconoplastic and an architectural type. In the first case (Fig. 265) four Jinas project from a cylindrical or cube-shaped core. In the second case (Fig. 266) the Jinas (or sometimes ācāryas) appear in counter-sunk panels; these are, seen from the point of view of form-history, the independent upper members of pillars (here and there it is perhaps only a question of the cut-off sections of actual pillars). The second type is the latest since miniature images were not worked into socles and capitals until the medieval period. — The Jains have now fixed most of the caumukhas on their new wall Prior to this, they were — as Sahni's photos reveal — scattered around the area. In these circumstances it is now impossible to say what their original arrangement was

There are about 75 inscriptions on the images and caumukhas on the Wall as well as on the objects scattered round about, but these are all of little significance.

§ 20 The first scholar to describe Deogarh was Sir Alexander Cunningham. He visited the locality either in 1874/1875 or in 1876/1877. Mukherji's publication appeared in 1899 and Sahni was in Deogarh in 1917/1918. Since almost 100 years have elapsed since the discovery of the temples, considerable changes have taken place. The accounts of these witnesses represent therefore a considerable contribution towards the work of reconstruction Sahni's photos in their importance put the drawings and notes of his predecessors completely in the shade. Unfortunately some of the photographic plates still preserved in Agra (see "*Agra*" in the list of abbreviations) can no longer be used. This gap could perhaps be filled by fresh plates prepared from the old prints. Furthermore the question arises as to whether unpublished notes by Cunningham and especially by Sahni still exist, from which more could be obtained than from the sparse reports which have appeared in print.

The details given by the two first visitors are not always completely reliable. For example Cunningham describes the sahasrabimbastambha of Temple No. 5 as "plain" — although it is completely covered with miniature-Jinas, and Mukherji forgot to indicate the cella of Temple No. 20 on his general plan (our Fig. 1). His rendering of Temple No. 27 (our Nos. 27,

27 A, 27 B) is cursory. It is also by no means clear from the wording what Mukherji was getting at when he described the old wall as follows: "Around the whole temple [i.e. Temple No. 12] was an enclosure of large Tirthankaras, seated or standing, enshrined in small temples, of which the southern portion still exists in a dilapidated condition". But doubtless this was an actual wall which *included* the shrines still extant today. Nevertheless a few details in the reports of Cunningham and Mukherji can be employed in connection with the work of reconstruction. For example, Cunningham described Temple No. 1 (*no. 2* in his enumeration) as follows: "No. 2 is an open arcadeo 24½ feet long by 20 feet broad, supported on 20 square pillars in five rows of four pillars each. The sanctum of the temple is completely gone". In contrast to that, Mukherji stated 25 years later: "it [i.e. Temple No. 1] is a raised structure, of which the columns and carved stones have been removed to build the forest bungalow." (p. 33). Mukherji's panoramic drawing does in fact show nothing more than a heap of ruins where the temple stood. His sketch no. 1, however, shows four pillars still supporting a roof, and the present hall which is supported by eight pillars must have come into being when extensions were added to what was left of the original structure. No doubt the hall in question still existed in Cunningham's days and at the time Mukherji visited it, it was little more than a ruin We have published from Mukherji's drawings and sketches the site-plan because, if nothing else, it does give a few details as to the condition of the site at the turn of the century. Comparison with our partial plan (Fig. 392) clearly shows that the site-plan is correct in its main features Temple No 7 has been placed much too far to the east, however. It has not been shown in Fig. 392 — although it does encroach into the area covered by the map—since it is situated to the west of the modern Wall.

In the case of the small shrines Mukherji has not always clearly indicated to which side they open (No 10 is open to all sides, No. 24 opens to the south, No. 24 A to the north, No. 22 to the south, No. 29 to the west — refer to our plan with regard to the rest.) — Mention has already been made of the fact that Nos. 7, 20 and 27 are not correctly entered on that plan.

§ 21. For obvious reasons, the art-thieves concentrated on the medieval images. The eye-catching difference in style between these and the earlier images (which nobody had noticed before) guided their choice. They preferred the cleanly-executed, smooth figures from the medieval period to the sculptures from the early-medieval period which are often crude and weather-beaten. We shall now merely give the *number* of the images damaged in the year 1959 without enlarging on the exact nature of the damage. In most cases the head of the main-image has been removed. Less frequently the heads of subsidiary figures or the entire subsidiary figures were struck off In the following list the number of damaged images appears in brackets: No. 2 (1), No 3/left (3), No. 3/right (1), No. 6 (2), No 11 (1), No. 16 (1), No. 19 (8), No. 20 (1), No. 21/left (3), No. 21/right (4), No. 25 (2), No. 26 (2), No. 28 (1), No. 30 (1), Wall I (2), Wall IV (8), Wall V (2), Wall VIII (2), Wall IX (1). Since many images were minus their heads or had suffered depredations prior to the events of the year 1959, it is possible that a slight error one way or another has crept in. Be that as it may, we are dealing with a round figure of some fifty badly damaged images. Most of them were of good quality. There were, however, some examples of both third- and first-class workmanship among them.

An architectural loss in substance occurred when Temples Nos. 2 and 3, the hall in front of Temple No 12, No. 12 A and No 31 were repaired or reconstructed. The changes might well be termed as "slight". However, in view of the great variety of factors which have had or still have a detrimental effect on the temples even the smallest inroads are to be deplored.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DATED JAIN INSCRIPTIONS

§ 22. Inscriptions on images and mānastambhas normally give the age of the object on which they appear. In the case of dated inscriptions which are carved on temples the task of evaluation is much more difficult The part on which the inscription appears might have been taken from some earlier structure Furthermore not all the inscriptions *belonging* to the temples go back to the time of erection (visitors' inscriptions are prominent amongst the inscriptions added subsequently). We shall therefore endeavour to indicate the implication of a date given in an inscription wherever the meaning of the date is not self-evident. This does however not apply to dated inscriptions which appear on single objects (slabs etc.) without artistic merit. These will interest the student of art only insofar as they mention monuments. But here as elsewhere such references are rare. — It follows from what has been said that dated inscriptions are not necessarily of art-historical importance. But conversely an inscription which helps in dating need not be dated itself: An object bearing an undated inscription can be assigned to its period if the names mentioned recur in dated inscriptions — The photos referred to are not in all cases close-ups of the objects carrying the inscriptions

§ 23. (1) samvat 919 (12,4)[1] Figs. 5 and 46. Found on a pillar used in the construction of the portico belonging to Temple No. 12 (p 38). The pillar is embellished with kīrtimukhas and other decorative motifs. The inscription says that a certain Śrīdeva had this pillar executed in the year given. The sentence "*śrī-Śānty-āyatana-saṃnidhe kārāpitam* (*stambha* being treated as neuter) makes it clear that the large Śānti-temple (No 12) was erected prior to samvat 919. — The wording justifies the assumption that this was a free-standing votive-pillar. Nevertheless in appearance it is not unlike a normal temple-pillar — *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol 4, pp. 309ff. — [samvat 919, Aśvayuja, bright f, 14th lunar day, Thursday = A D 10.9 862]

(2) 1023 (2,3). Fig. 192 Found on the pedestal of the seated Jina-image No. 227. This belongs to the so-called Date-Group[2], see §§ 178-81.

(3) 1051 (2,4) Fig 195 Found on the pedestal of the seated Jina-image No 229 belonging also to the Date-Group. The inscription establishes the date of Temple No. 2 (see § 179).

(4) 1051 (12,53 foll). Fig. 196. The date is mentioned in two inscriptions which appear one above the other on the left reveal (inner side of the left door-jamb) of the inner door-frame of Temple No. 12 The upper inscription (12,53) has been largely obliterated. As far as the remnants of 12,53 can still be read, they show that the two inscriptions are at least identical in part. It seems that 12,53 was effaced by the writer himself and that 12,54 represents the definitive text. 12,54 reports that the door-frame was inserted in samvat 1051 during the reign of a certain Ujaravaṭa. The inscription 12,54 starts with the words "śrī-Śāntinātha-tīrtha" This shows that in those days the place took its name from the huge Śānti-image in Temple No 12 and that this edifice was the main temple in the whole group. — See §§ 181 and 256.

[1] The figure given in brackets corresponds to the number in our collection of estampages See p. 12.
[2] All the inscriptions belonging to the Date-Group or to the Large Group have been edited by us in Chapter 17.

(5) 1052 (2,2). Fig. 193. Found on the seated Jina-image No. 228 which belongs to the Date-Group. For the two other images of the Date-Group see (2) and (3).

(6) 1095 (Wall, 43a). Fig. 206. Found on the pedestal of a standing image of Bharata (Image No. 248, § 187).

(7) 11xx[1] (19,22) Fig. 256. Found on the pedestal of Image No. 306 showing a seated goddess. The date given is taken from Sahni's list (*List III*, no. 102). It cannot be traced now and must have been broken off. Nevertheless sufficient evidence remains to show that the image belongs to the 11th century (samvat). See §§ 224 and 245. Image No. 306 belongs to the Large Group (see §§ 242-253).

(8) 110x (12,18). Found on a pillar now lying in the hall in front of Tempel No. 12. The pillar is provided with a caumukha-capital. Its design shows that it originally belonged to a temple (i.e. it was not a mānastambha). The context of the inscription shows that the date refers to the setting up of the pillar. It seems that in the case of the first figure the mason originally intended to write a "2" but turned it subsequently into a "1". The last figure is clearly written but cannot be deciphered

(9) 1105 (9,1) Found on the pedestal of a small seated Jina-image. Unfortunately no photo was taken during my first visits, and when I revisited the place in 1963 the image could no longer be traced

(10) 1105 (11,8). Figs. 241-42. Found on the pedestal of the seated Jina-image No. 301 in the ground floor cella of Temple No. 11 (§ 215). It can be assumed that this inscription supplies the date of Temple No. 11. It must however be admitted that the inscription mentions only the erection of a Jina-temple without further specification and, as is the case with most images, it cannot be said with absolute certainty whether the Image No. 301 is still *in situ*. The two outer door-frames (lower storey and upper storey) appear crude — and therefore later — if compared with the outer door-frame of Temple No. 12 (samvat 1133). But the date shows that they probably antedate the samvat 1133 door-frame. See Fig. 290 and § 284. The inner door-frames of Temple No. 11 are plain.

(11) 1113 (12,5) Found on a fragment of a fluted but otherwise plain pillar-shaft standing in the hall in front of Temple No. 12. The date refers to the setting up of the pillar.

(12) 1116 (11,21). Found on the pillar in front of Temple No. 11, more correctly speaking on the main part of the "pillar-composition" made up of various elements. The inscription is important as this main part (consisting of a socle, a shaft, and a square member above the shaft) is profusely decorated with figures and geometrical patterns.

(13) 1120 (5,1). Found on the outer wall of the west-side of Temple No. 5 to the left of the door. The inscription dates the richly-decorated temple, but the śikhara might have undergone changes since that time As in the case of the outer door-frames of Temple No. 11 the carving is crude if compared with the samvat 1133 door-frame of Temple No. 12. Yet the temple cannot possibly be later than the inscription of samvat 1120 because the block on which the inscription appears is not re-used. See Fig. 291 and § 284.

(14) 1120 (Ṛsabha-image in or near Temple No. 12). Refer to no. 82 of Sahni's list. The image could no longer be traced.

(15) 1121 (18,1-2). Fig. 267. Two inscriptions found on the socles of the two pillars in front of Temple No. 18. The two pillars are identical in design and profusely decorated with

[1] Figures that could not be read are represented by an "x". In the chronological sequence an "x" is treated as a zero.

ornamental and figure carvings. They help to establish the date of Temple No. 18 and of the Large Group (§ 248).

(16) 1126 (15,2). Fig. 247. Found on the pedestal of the standing Image No. 303 of which only the lower part remains. The fragment is connected with the Image No. 302 See §§ 220 and 244. Large Group.

(17) 1129 (9,3). Found on a small seated Jina-image. During the first visits no photo was taken, and in 1963 the image could no longer be traced. See § 249. Large Group.

(18) 1129 (11,2). Found on a pillar on the ground floor of Temple No. 11 (the pillar stands in the corner formed by the flight of steps and the east-wall in the main-room) The reading of the last figure is not certain. The text mentions only donors and visitors.

(19) 1133 (12,34). Figs. 249 and 292; § 284. The inscription appears on the left-hand reveal of the outer door-frame of Temple No. 12 and consists only of the date The five lines which appear below this date are counted as a separate inscription (12,35). They mention the setting up of the two jambs (the word *stambhau* which is required by *sthāpitau* is not mentioned in the text). The door-sill belongs to the original door-frame, while the lintel is made up of a re-used piece inserted along with the two jambs. The stylistic gap between this door-frame and the inner door-frame is obvious.

(20 foll.) 1135, 1136 (20,2 and 20,7) See Fig. 237 (image of samvat 1135) The two inscriptions appear on two Jina-images of little merit (Images Nos. 291 and 295) forming a group with three further images all undated (Images Nos. 292-94) See § 211 and 246 Large Group

(22) 1140 (15,4). Found on the pedestal of an image, otherwise lost, in the porch of Temple No. 15. As long as the names occurring in the inscription (*maḍhavai Sumati* and so on) cannot be traced elsewhere it is of little use in establishing dates.

(23) 1176 (Wall, 18). Fig. 20 right Found on the pedestal of the standing Jina-Image No 308 (§ 227).

(24) 1202 (29,2). SANKALIA Pl. 11, Fig. 2. Found on the pedestal of a standing Jina-image which shows 25 miniature-Jinas in addition to the main-figure The piece is of little merit and the names in the inscription could not be traced elsewhere.

(25) 1202 (Rampart). On the fragment (pedestal-portion) of a frieze-slab lying to the west of the Rampart. Mention is made of two Bhattārakas, Ratnakīrti and Vijayakīrti.

(26) 1207 (Rampart) On the fragment (pedestal-portion) of a Jina-image, lying to the west of the Rampart. The inscription mentions a "Sangrāmasīhaka".

(27) 1207 (4,1). On the capital of the left-hand pillar of the porch of Temple No. 4, immediately below the representation of an ācārya and a diminutive nun (Fig 269) Since the inscription mentions an ācārya and a nun we can assume that it is of the same age as the pillar (and not a subsequent addition). The decoration of the pillar is of little importance.

(28) 1208 (16, 2b) Appears on the socle of the left-hand pillar in the porch of Temple No. 16 and includes the names of donors or visitors. The porch is made up of re-used material but the two pillars (excluding the plinths which are separate) have the same design.

(29) 1209 (3, 1). Fig. 257. Appears on the pedestal of the standing Jina-Image No 307 in the rear room of Temple No 3/left (§ 227). The parikara has been badly damaged.

(30-31) 1210 (12, 58-59). On the foot-band of two niches, now empty, placed opposite one another on the north and south-walls of the garbhagrha of Temple No 12 Both inscriptions are similar in their wording and both give the same date. They inform us that the images which originally occupied the niches were donated by a Mahāsāmanta Udayapāladeva.

(32) 1220 (Wall, 10). On the pedestal of the standing Jina-Image No. 317 (§ 229).

(33) 1220 (16, 5). On a pillar in the interior of Temple No. 16 (second from left). The pillar is adorned with primitive figures. The inscription gives a spiritual name without supplying any further details.

(34) 1224. (4,2) Right-hand pillar of the porch of Temple No. 4. The inscription contains a short spiritual genealogy. In type, the pillar resembles the left-hand porch-pillar dated samvat 1207. See (27).

(35) 1293 (5, 4). Appears on a caumukha lying by the plinth of No. 5. Of no use since the second figure cannot be read correctly with any degree of certainty. On its four sides appear figures in a late-medieval style. They include Ambikā (with a lion "cihna" in low relief below the goddess).

(36) 1333 (11, 19). Fig. 270. On the pedestal of an ācārya-image in the cella of the upper storey of Temple No. 11 (compare § 235).

(37) 138x (12, 20). Appears on a pillar in the hall in front of Temple No 12 (fourth pillar from the left in the front row). See (45).

(38) 1382 (6, 2). Sahni's number 40 is a 21-line inscription bearing this date which appeared on a pillar in Temple No 6. All that now remains is a pillar fragment with an incomplete inscription of 18 lines and without date (our No. 6, 2) There can be no doubt as to the identity of both these inscriptions. Since the pillar is plain and the inscription contains no points of interest to the archaeologist it has no relevance to our task.

(39) 1387 (4, 13). On the rear, left-hand pillar of the pavilion surmounting Temple No. 4, within a longer inscription which can now hardly be deciphered. A second date in the same inscription is completely obliterated.

(40) 139x (12, 13) On the fragment of an oblong slab in the hall in front of Temple No. 12. Since the stone has been damaged the last figure has become indecipherable. The inscription mentions "Devindrasenadeva" among other things

(41) 1394. The inscription was on the parapet of the hall in front of Temple No 12. The parapet has now been lost and with it the inscription of samvat 1394 referred to by Sahni as no 54 Sahni supplies no further details except the comment "indecent", a misprint for "indistinct" See (45).

(42) 1481 This date is contained in an inscription larger than all the other inscriptions found at Deogarh It covers a slab measuring 6′ 2″ × 2′ 9″. The slab was donated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by F C. Black, who discovered it. Its value to the art-historian is due to two incised drawings (not yet published): an eight-leafed lotus with letters on its petals (compare SHAH, *Studies*, Fig 80) and a pattern made up of intertwined lines (compare *Bull. Deccan College Res. Inst*, Vol 20, pp. 291ff.). The inscription which mentions Hūshang Shāh of Mandu has been published and translated (JASB Vol. 52, Pt. I, pp 67-80), but a photo of the slab (or of an estampage) has never been published

(43) 1485 (12, 3) Fig. 5. If some pains are taken the date can be deciphered from a badly damaged inscription which appears on the plinth of the right-hand front-pillar of the portico in front of Temple No 12. The "plinth" is the lowest member of the pillar composition, and it has the same design in the case of both front-pillars. The two plinths are much earlier (medieval) than the inscription.

(44) 1493 (1, 26) Appears on a plain pillar to the west of Temple No. 1.

(45) 1493 (12, 28). Occurs within a long inscription which covers a completely intact rectangular slab in the hall in front of Temple No. 12. One Patijugarāja proclaims that he caused a hall in front of the Śānti-Temple (No. 12) to be built (lines 11/12: *Śāṃtinātha-caityālaye* ..

mamḍapa kārāpitam). P.'s assertions are refuted by inscriptions (37) and (41). We definitely know that the first inscription at least (samvat 138x) appears on a piece which is *not earlier* than the present structure (i.e. on a pillar supporting the roof of the hall). If only the medieval inscription referring to a hall in front of the Śānti-temple and mentioned on p. 38 had been preserved (this undated but old inscription does in fact not appear on the hall itself), then we might assume that an earlier structure existed before samvat 1493 and that a *new structure* had been created in 1493 under Patijugarāja. But taking inscription (37) as a yardstick the conclusion becomes inevitable that the *present* pillared hall existed already in samvat 138x. Therefore, Patijugarāja can only have carried out very minor repairs (or at any rate such repairs as did not radically alter the character of the structure. — See SAHNI, p. 10.

(46) 1495 (16,7). Appears on a plain pillar which stands loose in Temple No 16. The inscription mentions "Hamsarāju" among other things

(47) 1496 (28,1). On a string-course on the left outer wall of Temple No 28 Irrespective of the circumstances which prompted the inscription (it only consists of a date) it is not really likely that the temple itself was created as late as this. The door-frame is no later than those of Temples Nos. 5 and 11 (cf. Inscriptions [13] and [10]), and the śikhara is no later than that of Temple No. 5 (Inscription [13]) It can however not be said with absolute certainty that the door-frame is the original one. Therefore we cannot rule out the possibility that the inscription is as old as the temple (and that the actual structure is in fact as *late* as samvat 1496)

(48) 1500 (Temple No. 5). This inscription (listed by Sahni as no 35) is on the threshold of the western door-frame of Temple No. 5 and is now concealed by the frame of the iron door. Like the inscription dealt with next but one, it must have been added subsequently.

(49) 15x1 (1, 25) An otherwise plain pillar which bears a crude representation of a Jain sādhu (standing on the north-side of the terrace of Temple No 1) A pillar bearing a similar relief stands in front of Temple No. 6 and has two undated inscriptions

(50) 1503 (5, 2). Appears on a slab which is fixed up over the inner side of the eastern entrance of Temple No. 5 and mentions Mahmūd Shāh (of Mandu) as lord of "*Canderigaḍh-deśa*".

(51) 1505 (8, 7). On a pillar used when the veranda of Temple No 8 was rebuilt in modern times.

(52) 15x6 (12, 17) On an unadorned pillar in the hall in front of Temple No 12

(53) 1693, 1695 (7, 1). On one of the two pādukās in Temple No 7 (i e. on the one with two feet).

(54) 1709 (4, 3) On a slab which is fixed into the outer wall of Temple No 4 to the right of the entrance The slab was already located here in Sahni's days, and there can hardly be any doubt that it is (at least) as old as the present structure — so that the present structure is at least as *late* as samvat 1709. This is confirmed by other observations (§ 32)

(55) 1803 (formerly in Temple No. 4). According to Sahni (no. 29) on a recumbent image (1'11" × 3'8½") in Temple No. 4. Sahni did not say what the image represented The two recumbent images which at the moment are fixed in the inner wall of Temple No. 4 have other dimensions, so that there is no reason to assume the existence of an inscription on one of the four outer sides of the slabs (which are now of course concealed) That a recumbent image was created as late as 1803 may be considered very unlikely

(56ff.) Inscriptions bearing dates from this century which were incised on particular slabs and which record modern work of restoration.

§ 24. All except 3 of the dated inscriptions mentioned by Sahni and Hargreaves ([14], [41] and [55]) could be traced again. A fourth inscription was concealed in the intervening period (48), and in the case of a further inscription (38) the part bearing the date has been broken away and lost. On the other hand there is evidence of the existence of a number of dated inscriptions which were not mentioned by Sahni (and Hargreaves): nos. 3, 8, 12, 18, 19, 22, 25, 26, 35, 36, 40, 42, 43, 49, 51. None of these inscriptions are of general historical importance, however. — The following will show how the inscriptions are distributed over the various periods.

samvat	919	1
	1023 - 1052	4
	1095 - 1140	17 (excluding 11xx but counting 18,1 and 18,2 [15] separately)
	1176	1
	1201 - 1224	11
	1333	1
	1382 - 1394	5 (including 138x, 139x)
	1481 - 1505	8 (excluding 1485, 15x1, 15x6)
	1695 and later	3

Of course, the natural assumption is that a concentration of inscriptions indicates a period of intensive building activity In our case, however, only the *dated* inscriptions are under consideration and the numerical ratio of dated inscriptions to undated inscriptions[1] has changed in the course of time (it is well-known that the percentage of *dated* inscriptions increased in the course of this millennium). The available archaeological evidence makes it also likely that the building activities came to a stand-still between samvat 1382 and 1505, and that on the other hand much construction work was carried out after samvat 1505 (repair work done under the Bundelas) It would therefore appear that no conclusions can be derived from the above list.

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[1] as well as the number of inscriptions in general.

CHAPTER FIVE

HISTORY OF THE JAIN TEMPLES

§ 25. The present chapter mainly deals with the history of the construction of the temples and with the epigraphy. It will be supplemented by Chapter 18 which is devoted to the chronology of the images.

The available ancient and modern sources have been discussed in §§ 20, 22-24. It must once more be stressed that ancient records on Deogarh itself cannot be traced either locally or elsewhere. All that is available are references to the building-activity found in Deogarh inscriptions (i.e. in inscriptions connected with the Jain temples) Naturally these references do not supply a continuous history of the temples but give in most cases only meagre information on the objects on which they appear. However, along with other evidence this permits a partial reconstruction of the progress of the building-activity. The character of the *object carrying the inscription* is referred to only in rather vague terms and the only more exact information which we have is made up of the names and genealogies of the donors etc. (§ 37). Moreover in the medieval period the date is often added. In addition to this standard information three pillar-inscriptions mention the temple before which the pillars stand. See Inscriptions (1) and (15) in the previous chapter. Two image-inscriptions — (3) and (10) — mention the erection of a temple. As there is no evidence to the contrary, the inscriptions (3) and (10) must refer to the temples in which the images stood, and presumably these are identical with those in which the images are housed today. More extensive than the image- and pillar-inscriptions are those which appear on slabs specifically prepared for this purpose. Yet even here references to other objects are found but rarely. Examples are Inscription No 12, 14 (undated, see p. 38), of which only a fragment remains, and Inscription No. 12, 28 (samvat 1493). Both mention the hall in front of Temple No. 12, but it would appear that only the first inscription refers to the actual construction and that the second one merely commemorates repair-work. The following account of the various periods of construction is therefore mainly based on the condition of the monuments themselves.

§ 26. Period I (post-Gupta). To this time can be assigned several architectural fragments to the west of Temple No. 20, some of which were already noticed by Mukherji (Diagram 13 of his book). Besides there is at least one Jina-image which can be safely dated in this period (Fig. 21). It would therefore not be wrong to assume that a Jain temple existed already in the 7th or 8th century in the area covered by the present Jain compound. An isolated Buddha-image of the same period, probably found amongst the debris lying scattered between the Jain temples, has been fixed on the Wall (Fig. 20).

§ 27. Period II (early-medieval). Here belong the two big Temples Nos. 12 (vimāna with porch) and 15 as well as the majority of the small shrines: Nos. 12 A, 12 B, 12 D-H, 22, 24 A, and 27 (?). Architectural fragments show that still more shrines existed at that time. The frequency of these small shrines (as well as the large number of single images) reflect the economic background against which building-activity took place. As the community was

predominantly middle-class there were few large donations, most of the donors not being able to contribute appreciable sums. It is true that a number of small donations can be combined to finance a major undertaking (see § 41), but this was in any case not the only practice. That there was, besides Temple No. 12, another large early-medieval śikhara-temple is unlikely (p. 43). The three niches in the outer walls of Temple No. 15 are perhaps reminiscent of the Gupta temple on the plain. Its influence is also felt in the iconography of the Varāha-temple which lies midway between the Gupta temple and Temple No. 15 in point of time. On the basis of the samvat 919 inscription the structures of Period II can be dated around samvat 900 (§ 255). The images in the Period II temples are with few exceptions early-medieval.

§ 28. Period III (early-medieval). To this period can be assigned in the first place those hall-temples where the walls consist of blocks (and not of slabs): Nos. 9, 13, 16, and 20. These four temples underwent considerable repairs in Period VI. The images are largely or exclusively early-medieval The Hall-Temple No 17 where the original walls have disappeared, also contains almost exclusively early-medieval images. As the ancient repair-work (Period VI) made use of blocks in this case it can be assumed that the original temple was also built of this material and that it belongs to our Period III. The same chronological conclusion can however not be drawn in the case of No. 18 which is also a hall-temple consisting of blocks and containing early-medieval images. For in this case the original plinth is preserved and its architectural features show that it belongs to the medieval period. Moreover the images of this temple must be assigned to the latest phase of early-medieval sculpture. If the material used in the repair-work reflects the original condition of the temple, we have an example of a *medieval temple* built of blocks.

§ 29. Period IV (medieval). Here belong the four hall-temples where the walls consist of slabs (old type, for the later type of slabs see Period V): No. 2 (radically altered after 1957), No 3/left part (pulled down after 1957), No. 3/right part (when discovered the foundations were all that remained), No. 11 and 19 These temples contain only medieval images. The date of Period IV is supplied by the inscriptions of Temple No. 2 (samvat 1023, 1051, 1052) and Temple No. 11 (samvat 1105 and 1129). By reason of the four standing goddesses in its veranda (removed after 1957 to the dharmshala), Temple No. 19 is connected with the Large Group of images (samvat 1121-1136, § 253). Whereas all the other temples are crammed with images there are only a few pieces to be found in the four temples of this period. — The hall-temples of Deogarh (Periods III and IV) are reminiscent of the architecture of the monasteries at Ranod, Kadbaya, and Surwaya. There we also meet with two-storeyed structures; but medieval *temples* in the form of halls are found but rarely outside Deogarh. Probably other temples of this simple type existed but were not built of durable material.

§ 30. The following "miscellaneous" structures and objects are contemporary with the buildings erected in Periods IV-V (or III-V): śikhara-temple No. 5 (samvat 1120), pillar in front of Temple No. 11 (samvat 1116), the two front-pillars of the portico in front of Temple No. 12, the inner and outer door-frames (to be more correct, the *jambs* of the *outer* door-frame) of Temple No. 12 (samvat 1051 and 1133), two small shrines flanking the main-entrance of Temple No. 12 (each containing a medieval yakṣī), the two pillars in front of Temple No. 18 (samvat 1121), the plinth of Temple No. 18 (samvat 1121 or earlier), Temple No. 31 and the richly-decorated śikhara-temple of which only debris remain (p. 43). Two objects

cannot be dated with any degree of certainty but may belong to about the same time: the plinth of Temple No. 1 and the hall in front of Temple No. 12. — Temples Nos. 24 and 28 must also be classified as "miscellaneous" but are perhaps later than the other monuments. The images in the temples enumerated in this paragraph are always medieval.

We do not maintain that our Periods III-V are consecutive chronological units, as they are defined primarily with regard to type. But for practical reasons we have described these three units in the present paragraph in chronological terms.

§ 31. Period V (medieval) The structures belonging to this period are small temples built of slabs (later type). As compared with the slabs of Period IV these are smaller, thinner, and better preserved or "newer". To Period V can be assigned Temples Nos. 21, 25, 26, 27 B, and 30. The five structures are entirely plain The lower date-limit is set by the fact that Temple No 21 carries two inscriptions of the Gunanandin-Group (§ 241). Most images of the group stand in this temple and, on account of the style, the Gunanandin-Group is even earlier than the Large Group mentioned in § 29 (ca. samvat 1121-1136). As such an early date is unexpected in the case of Temple No. 21 (and of the four other temples) one may conjecture that the two slabs in the walls of this structure (which carry the two Gunanandin-inscriptions) are re-used: The slabs might belong to an earlier structure which rose on about the same plan as No. 21 and already contained the present images. There is however not the slightest indication that the inscribed slabs are older than the rest of the structure. — The temples of Period V contain only medieval images.

§ 32. Period VI (mortar-phase) In this case two different types of building operations must be distinguished. Binding material was however used for both types (optionally, not in all cases). In the first category belong repair-measures and rebuilding carried out following the destruction of the block-temples Nos. 9, 13, 15-18, and 20. The Temples Nos 4, 6, 8, 12 C, and 14 which may or may not replace earlier structures must also be mentioned in this connection. Into the second category fall additions to the roofs of the temples and some special structures. Here mortar was used more freely All the more so as the stones employed often did not exceed the size of a brick and therefore needed a binding material The additions include pseudo-śikharas, pavilions of the type familiar since Akbar's time, and parapets along the sides of the roofs. Temples Nos. 24, 25, 27 B (and No. 10) have a pyramid-shaped "śikhara" (or "roof" if the element is flatter). Nos 6, 18, and 24 show compromises between cupola and śikhara, while Nos. 12 A and 22 are crowned by true cupolas Pavilions appear on the porches of Temples Nos. 4 and 16 and on the main-rooms of Nos. 2, 5, 17, 19. No. 7 *consists* of a pavilion Parapets were added to the majority of the hall-temples In the second category fall ultimately the two unconventional structures Nos 7 (with cupola) and 10 (with pyramid-shaped roof) as well as the portico in front of Temple No. 12 and the parapeted hall on the platform of Temple No. 1 (i.e. the hall seen by Cunningham).

The fact that mortar is used in both categories already suggests that they are contemporary. This assumption receives support from certain observations made in connection with Temples Nos. 4 and 15 Here the pavilions have the same (No. 15) or almost the same (No. 4) pillars as the porches It therefore follows that in each case both are contemporary. Now we can safely assume that the porch of No. 4 is not (much) later than the main-room and that the porch of Temple No. 15 is contemporary with the repair-phase of the temple. Using the two porches as a link between both categories we can conclude that the pavilions etc. (Category II)

are contemporary with the repair-phase (Category I). Absolute dating has also become possible. Category II includes cupolas of the Akbar type, and we can therefore assign both categories to the Bundela Period. The Bundela dynasties followed after the Malwa Sultans who ruled over this areas up to the middle of the 15th century (p. 66). The absence of references to this repair-work in oral or literary tradition is no evidence to the contrary. Undertakings not recorded in inscriptions can be forgotten in the course of a few generations. Again the lack of inscriptions is not surprising as we know that the density of epigraphic evidence varies from period to period. On the other hand the possibility cannot be *completely* ruled out that the repair (rebuilding) of temples other than Nos. 4 and 15 took place before the Bundela Period.

§ 33 The Destruction. As Muslim writers make no reference to Deogarh and its destruction all theories regarding the date of this event are merely speculative (refer also to the first paragraph of the Introduction). The Jain inscriptions at Deogarh do not refer to the raids even once. This was hardly done for political reasons alone but also because the limited number of record-patterns (donation, genealogy etc.) did not encourage the eye-witnesses to refer to such events. Besides it is possible that the destruction took place at a time when inscriptions were caused to be written but rarely. But every attempt to connect the raids with a person known from history will remain mere guess-work. — It is remarkable that the massive block-temples were more affected than the lightly built slab-temples. Therefore the possibility remains that, apart from the usual iconoclastic raids, some of the temples were used as quarries for some unestablished purpose. Had it been the intention of the iconoclasts to destroy whole structures they would have given preference to the weaker edifices.

§ 34. Modern building activity Sahni describes the measures taken under him as follows: "The operations carried out among the Jain temples comprised the removal of vegetation from all the thirty-one temples, the clearance of *débris* from around them, the repairs of roofs and the cutting down of trees which obscured a full view of the monuments" (p. 9 of his report for 1918). Later, responsibility was transferred to the "Shri Devgaḍh Managing Digambar Jain Committee" and it took up this task in 1930. The lower parapets of the roofs which were for the most part covered by mortar, were removed and replaced by new ones the stone of which was not covered over. The roofs themselves had a layer of mortar added, insofar as they did not have one already. The temples (or rather ruins) No. 3 (right), Nos. 14 and 31 gave way to new structures. No. 18 and the hall in front of No. 12 had a terrace added to them; the hall and the parapet of No 1 were extended. Repair-work of one kind or the other was carried out on almost all the temples. The efforts to "house" the images, pillars, and caumukhas purposefully are no less important than the activities in the architectural field. Most of the *images* which lay scattered over the site have been fixed to the Wall, and the *caumukhas* to the roof surmounting it. This Wall was specially built for the purpose in imitation of a similar arrangement of images which was there already (Fig. 2: row of images faintly visible behind the portico). Of the old arrangement nothing remains. — The overturned pillars were righted once more.

The damage perpetrated recently by art-thieves has already been dealt with in § 21. Inspite of the activities of the dacoits, which stopped pilgrimages temporarily, the building activities have been recommenced during the last decade. Temples Nos. 2 and 3 (left) have been replaced by new structures. After 1963 the last part of the path leading to the temples has been lined

with sculptures (fixed on low socles), the chamber in the hall in front of Temple No. 12 has been removed, and a road leading up the hill has been constructed.

§ 35. The Jain images of a Deogarh temple are in part cut out of the slabs which make up the structure, partly they are fixed to the walls, and partly they stand on their own. The first case only concerns the wall-figures of Temples Nos. 12 and 15 (only those of Temple No. 12 are well preserved, the sikhara-niches of Temple No. 15 being more or less severely damaged). That door-frame figures (and niche-frame figures as found on Temple No. 15) form part of the structure goes without saying.

The images which are either fixed to the walls or stand on their own may or may not form part of the architectural scheme and it is mainly the second distinction that concerns us here. The following images are connected with the architecture (all *fixed*): The Jinas in the big niches of Temple No. 15, the images (Śānti and four Ambikās) in the garbhagṛha of Temple No. 12, the Jina in the garbhagṛha of Temple No. 15, images or compositions filling the inner side of the rear-wall (or the central intercolumnation of it) in the case of Temples Nos. 19, 29, and 30, the śukanāsā-figures of Temple Nos. 12 and (in part) of Temple No. 28. Other images are *not fixed* but were designed with regard for specific locations: Four throne-frame images in the central room and in the veranda of Temple No. 15, three colossal images (Fair Class) in Temple No 16, the Double-Snake Group and the seven uncouth images in the pradaksinapatha of Temple No. 12, and finally a single colossal image (Geometrical Class) in Temple No. 28.

The vast majority of images, fixed or unfixed, are in no way connected with the architecture. They were donated individually and gradually filled the existing temples As a consequence, the images contained in one and the same temple are often not uniform from the point of view of style. But as a rule there is a nucleus of related images which were in all probability consecrated at the same time as the temple itself. Others were donated subsequently, but images from demolished temples were normally left in the open air (and not shifted to other temples) even though the extant structures were in some cases almost empty. Only a few temples (Nos 4, 8, 13, and 14) look so gaudy that a relationship between the images and the building (i.e between a "nucleus" of the images and the original structure) is ruled out. Here the images show even less conformity than the images of certain sections of the Wall. Temples Nos. 4, 8, 13, and 14 are in fact museums rather than places of worship

We had already seen that some types of temples only contain medieval images and others exclusively early-medieval ones. In addition to this a particularly close relationship between images in one and the same temple occurs frequently and is not confined to the instances quoted above (images connected with the architecture). See Temples No. 2 (images of the Date-Group), No. 3/left (images of the Hovering Class), No. 18 (late seated images of the Drum-Leaf Style), No 19 (four goddesses), No. 20 (Group of § 211; the remaining images in the temple are not uniform), No. 21 (three images of the Gunanandin-Group and two Gunanandin-inscriptions on the walls; all images of the Cihna-Group), and No. 28 (three modern images of the New Class). The Temple No. 18 houses a large number of mediocre and monotonous images. The same is true of the chamber in the hall in front of Temple No. 12, but its images are different in type (in spite of their monotony); see § 38. The present chamber is also not the original resting place of the pieces.

For the most part, the images which do not form part of the architectural scheme have simply been placed against the inner walls in so far as they did not stand independently.

However the images of Temple No. 4 are fixed in the inner walls. The Temples Nos. 8 and 14 have been subdivided into three and two bays respectively, the bays being separated from each other by images placed back to back. Access to the bays is obtained through the doors in the front-side (longest side) of the structures. Accordingly, Temple No. 8 has been provided with three, and Temple No. 14 with two doors. — Images on raised platforms (Temple No. 11, cella of the ground floor; Temple No. 19, rear-wall) may be included either here or in the second paragraph (images forming part of the architectural scheme).

§ 36. The spatial distribution of the temples clearly shows the stages in the growth of the built-up area The nucleus is formed by the temples of Period II. The temples of Period III were added to these mainly in the north. These two groups form together the inner zone in contradistinction to the outer zone which came into existence in Periods IV and V. The temples of the outer zone are scattered over the area to the south, to the west, and to the north of the inner zone. To the east only a solitary shrine was added (No. 12 C). The temples of the outer zone are the following: a single temple to the south (No. 11), a group in the west (Nos. 1-5, if we include the later Temple No. 4), two temples in the northern area of the inner zone (Nos. 19 and 21), and the group to the north at some distance from the inner zone (Nos. 25, 26, 27A-30). Temples Nos 19 and 21 (inner zone where we expect the outer zone) as well as Nos 9, 31 (outer zone where we expect the inner zone) do not fit into this pattern of distribution. The same is true of some of the shrines (Nos. 22 and 27: outer zone, and not inner zone; Nos. 24 and 12 C: inner zone, and not outer zone). The very late structures (Nos. 6, 7, 10 etc.) can be disregarded in the present context. It is reassuring that in spite of numerous changes in ancient and modern times it is still possible to distinguish the different stages in the building-activity.

§ 36A. We did not think it feasable or necessary to give a description of the material of each image. For one thing this would have been a complicated task. We are dealing here with sandstone of various types and various colours. The change over from one colour to another is not clear-cut, and in addition to this differences in colour can occur on one and the same image. Some images were for a shorter or longer period exposed to the elements. These show changes of the original colour effected by the climate and by the growth of lichen. Finally, the finish given to the pieces by the sculptors varies considerably For these reasons we do not only have a highly variegated picture (colours met with are: black, red, green, dark-brown, buff, light yellow, grey), it also becomes difficult to give a satisfactory description of the stone of one and the same image.

On the other hand the connection of style and stone is such a loose one that details of this nature would have very little value for the art-historian. Whenever certain units ("Style", "Class" etc.) were uniform with respect to the material, we have mentioned it. That such cases are found but rarely amongst the "higher" units follows from the fact that units more comprehensive than the so-called sets were normally not commissioned *in toto*. The fragmentation of the donations which contributed to the lack of stylistic uniformity also resulted in the stone required being taken from various quarries (or from different sections of the same quarry).

§ 37. Up to four persons are involved in the setting up of an image (or a mānastambha): the donor who gave the order for the piece to be made, the person for whose spiritual welfare the donation was meant (either a relative or the donor himself), the monk who consecrated the

image, and finally the artist or craftsman responsible for the work. To these may be added living or deceased relatives of the donor. Mention can also be made of the spiritual ancestors of the monk and, in the case of an ācārya or bhattāraka, of his predecessor(s). As is common usage in India, names of artists are mentioned at Deogarh but rarely. Predecessors in office are referred to in a number of Deogarh inscriptions, but most of them are of little interest to us as they belong to the post-medieval period (compare § 39 on the bhaṭṭārakas). In the case of relatives it is never made clear in our inscriptions whether the donation was made for their spiritual benefit, whether they took part in the donation, or whether they were mentioned for some general reason. In the inscriptions found at other places it is often expressly stated for whose spiritual benefit the donation was made (VINAYASAGARA, No 67: *mātṛ-pitṛ-śreyo 'rtham*). If it is meant for the benefit of the donor himself the standard-phrase *sva-śreyase* is used (VINAYASAGARA, No. 75). — The expressions for "donate" and "consecrate" are *kārayati* and *pratiṣṭhāpayati* respectively. It seems that in the Deogarh inscriptions the two terms were confused to some extent, but we cannot rule out the possibility that Jain monks, like Buddhist monks[1], donated images themselves. — A comparison of the medieval and late-medieval inscriptions at Deogarh with the inscriptions published by Vinayasagara shows that the latter are on the whole more precise in their wording; but most of them belong to the *post*-medieval period, i.e. to a time when art became more learned and when more and more attention was devoted to the inscriptions. — Deogarh has a number of post-medieval inscriptions (samvat 1333 foll.), too, but only some of them refer to donations.

§ 38. It has already been said that an inscription can be dated, either absolutely or relatively, if it contains names which recur in other inscriptions. This is possible in a number of cases but one should not expect that all inscriptions of a particular period, met with at one and the same place, are interconnected by names which constantly re-occur. We succeeded in isolating three groups of interrelated inscriptions: the early-medieval Double-Snake Group (§ 73), the medieval Guṇanandin-Group (§ 235 A), and the Large Group (also medieval, § 242) In the case of the later epigraphic material some further combinations may be possible. But the relevant inscriptions are mainly found on plain pillars and slabs, and thus are of little importance for the art-historian — The images interrelated on account of their inscriptions are not always uniform in style. Nevertheless there does not seem to be a single case where one and the same name is found both on a medieval and on an early-medieval image. The only point of contact between the two periods is a collection of small-size Jina-images kept in the chamber in the hall in front of Temple No. 12. All these images are made of the same stone and betray the same technique. The pieces follow partly the early-medieval styles and partly the medieval style. But this collection cannot be used to demonstrate that both periods overlap in time. Some of the images represent a development of style which is much later than the transitional period. Now there can be little doubt that all the pieces are contemporary. It would therefore appear that the collection hails from the workshop of an inferior artist who drew his inspiration from all periods.

§ 39. The inscriptions mention several prominent persons. Some of them are known from other sources. King Bhoja of Kanauj, mentioned in the inscription of samvat 919, is a well-known figure in Indian history. The inscriptions also mention the names of later rulers, both

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[1] MARSHALL-FOUCHER, *Sāñchī*, Vol I p 34

from the Muhammadan and from the Bundela Period. For instance the inscription of samvat 1481 mentions Hūshang Shāh of Mandu. Finally long preceptorial lines make their appearance in the later inscriptions. Here we come across several names well known from the history of the Digambara church. Thus the inscription (38) of Chapter 4 mentions the sequence Vasantakīrti, Viśālakīrti, Śubhakīrti which is known from other sources (GUÉRINOT, no. 667, JOHRAPURKAR, pp. 93-94). Needless to say, the persons listed in these pedigrees had themselves no contact with Deogarh

The importance of persons not mentioned in other sources follows either from their titles or from the fact that they are mentioned in Deogarh inscriptions more than once. Thus reference is made to a *mahāsāmanta* or vassal called Kṛṣnarāma (samvat 919), to a *mahāsāmanta* called Udayapāladeva (samvat 1210), and to a *king* Ujaravata (samvat 1051). Refer in this connection also to § 42. Among the spiritual titles that of a *bhattāraka* is of special importance: many bhaṭṭārakas are mentioned in the later inscriptions and we know that they were of relatively high standing. But like the ācāryas etc. mentioned in the earlier inscriptions (short preceptorial lines), the bhaṭṭārakas whose names appear in the later inscriptions (long preceptorial lines) had frequently no contact with Deogarh. Yaśahkīrti (§ 251), Ratnakīrti, and Vijayakīrti (samvat 1202, cf p. 48) are exceptions. — The so-called *maṭhapatis* must have played a particular role at Deogarh. One of them, Rājyapāla, is mentioned more than once (§ 251). The literal translation of *mathapati* is "head of the monastery" (see § 252).

Finally we have to mention those names which are only of significance because they occur more than once. Here belong Mādhavadeva of the Double-Snake Group, Gunanandin of the Gunanandin-Group, and Tribhuvanakīrti (as well as Vīracandra) of the Large Group In the inscription of samvat 919 we learn that a certain Śrīdeva, disciple of the ācārya Kamaladeva, caused the pillar on which the inscription appears to be set up. The names Śrīdeva and Kamaladeva recur on a pillar-fragment (capital) near the Shrine 12 G. The two names are incised below small-size representations of a monk and an ācārya respectively. The ācārya is rendered in the preaching attitude characteristic of this iconographic type, whereas the monk sits to the left of the ācārya (facing him) with his hands folded. Although this pillar must be 50-100 years later than the one with the inscription of samvat 919, the identity of the persons mentioned is beyond doubt. Here then the conclusion is inevitable that Kamaladeva and Śrīdeva enjoyed a certain prestige. Otherwise they would not have been remembered after so many years had elapsed.

§ 40. We need not characterize the earlier inscriptions as the texts published by us speak for themselves. The later inscriptions like the earlier ones lack unity of form. Set patterns such as occur in the donors' inscriptions from the 13th to 17th centuries (samvat) edited by Vinayasagara are conspicuous by their absence (§ 37). On the other hand, the later Deogarh inscriptions are on an average much larger than the earlier ones. The information becomes more exhaustive but its character remains unchanged.

In the earlier phase the script is Nāgarī or proto-Nāgarī or a combination of both. In the later phase (here = New Class and Geometrical Class) the script is pure Nāgarī. In addition to this, the general character of the script undergoes changes. In the High-Relief Style (except for some of the early specimens, belonging to the Resting Class) the characters become small and tend to form a straight unbroken line. This disciplined rendering corresponds to the increasing rigidity of the composition pattern. But in the later phase of the High-Relief Style (Geometrical Class) the script deteriorates again. — The early-medieval inscriptions at

Deogarh are written in big and unshapely characters. There is even a certain connection between the script and the design of the images: In the early-medieval period the sculptors could incise the script on the large plain faces of the pedestals. But in the time of the High-Relief Style normally only narrow bands were available for the incision of the letters. Nevertheless instances of "disciplined rendering" are found in the early-medieval period as well (although not at Deogarh).

§ 41. Some inscriptions are noteworthy in one respect or the other. Here belong the inscriptions on the śikhara-niches of Temple No. 12, each of which contains the name of a Jina and the name of a goddess (§ 82); some inscriptions identifying monks etc. represented above them (§§ 39 and 243[1]); single names (two or more syllables) on the outer walls of Temples Nos. 11 and 18; and above all the donors' inscription on the porch pillar (extreme right) of Temple No. 12 as well as the so-called *jñānaśilā*.

The donors' inscription referred to (*List I*, no. 57) consists of names written in eight columns on the eight faces of the pillar in question. Each name is preceded by a figure with one to four digits. Many of the figures end in —5, —0, —00, and —000. Only a few end in accordance with later usage in —1. There are also figures like 27 and 98, and these may refer to sums collected from groups of less affluent pilgrims. Since the figures do not appear in numerical sequence we are led to assume that the sums were recorded on receipt. It is not possible to say or even to conjecture which coins were referred to. For in those days different coins were current side by side (compare *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 1, pp. 167-68: Sīyadonī-inscription with dates ranging from 960-1025). The present inscription is unique but lists of donations are not unusual in themselves. Other instances are the Sīyadonī inscription just mentioned (see also p. 62 below) and the 69th chapter of the Paṭṭāvalī of the Kharataragaccha (Singhi Jain Series, 1956). There is much in favour of the theory that the donations mentioned in our inscription were given for Temple No. 12 itself. After all the pillar belongs to Temple No 12 and the script of the inscription resembles that of the names incised on the pillar-niches of the same temple. Moreover the amounts themselves indicate a building-project of some magnitude. Donations for a minor building or for a religious festival (*melā*) would not be of that order.

The jñānaśilā is an epigraphical curiosity which even found its way into V A. Smith's "*Early History of India*" (4th ed., p. 17). The upper part of the surface is covered by lines of letters which were partly invented and partly derived from existing alphabets Below this there appears a short text styling the slab "jñānaśilā" and stating that it contained specimens of 18 different languages in 18 different scripts. Jñānaśilā ("stone of knowledge") is probably an abbreviation of a compound like jñāna-prakāśana śilā (stone for the dissemination of knowledge). The text of the subscript is an allusion to the origin of the alphabets as recorded in Jain tradition: The 1st Jina Ṛsabha is credited with the invention of (the) 18 alphabets (VON GLASENAPP, p. 267). The "author" of the jñānaśilā was no doubt familiar with letters from various alphabets including Brāhmī. He could have copied Brāhmī characters at Sanchi for example. In those days the place was still a flourishing religious centre.

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[1] Inscriptions identifying sculptural representations are extremely rare in almost all periods of Indian art.

CHAPTER SIX

REMARKS ON THE POLITICAL HISTORY

§ 42 Deogarh can be considered far removed from the centres of political activity in two senses of the word. First in the geographical sense. Political activity was concentrated in such places as Dhar and Ujjain in the South; Gwalior and Narwar in the North. In the East events were focussed on Khajuraho, Mahoba, Kalanjar and Ajaigarh, i.e. a relatively long way off. Secondly there is a difference in social context insofar as the vast majority of the temples and images at Deogarh were donated by members of the middle-class, who of course, had no connection with court circles.

The distance from the political centres is reflected by the epigraphical evidence: There are few inscriptions mentioning dynastic names; dynastic inscriptions found elsewhere do not mention names of places situated in the area under consideration; the inscriptions found in the area give some names of personages which cannot be connected with the well-known dynasties. Under these circumstances it is hardly possible to write the "history" of such a region. One has to collect the available evidence although there is no possibility to weld the different data into a connected account.

The following inscriptions mention only rulers which are otherwise unknown: -

(1) Deogarh, samvat 1051, "śrī-Ujaravata-rājye" (p. 46, third line from bottom).
(2) Deogarh, samvat 1210, "mahāsāmanta śrī-Udayapāladeva" (p. 48; cf. *List II*, nos. 11-12 and *List III*, nos. 47-48).
(3) Deogarh, no date, "Varllabha-rājyena" (an uncertain case; § 236, Image No. 243).
(4) Chandpur, samvat 1207, "mahā-Pratīhārānvaye...Udayapālabhuja" (CUNNINGHAM, Vol 10, p 97 and plate 32, 12, *List I*, no. 51).
(5) Lakhari, samvat 1124, mention of Mahārājādhirāja Abhayadeva and his son Candrāditya (*ASIAR* 1924/25, p. 168). Lakhari is five miles north-west of Budhi Chanderi.
(6) Madanpur, samvat 1235, "mahārājādhirāja Sri Alhana deva..." (CUNNINGHAM, Vol. 21, pp. 174-75).

Systematic investigations would probably bring to light a few more names.

If compared with this short list the sequence of dynastic inscriptions from Deogarh, Chanderi, Dudahi, Madanpur, Rakhetra-Gadhelna, and Siron Khurd seems long. But these are distributed over a long period, and prior to the days of the Sultans of Mandu no clear picture of the situation in the area emerges — Our list of inscriptions will be based on the available dynastic monographs[1] and we hope that the survey will be fairly complete. It must however be admitted that even the dynastic inscriptions of the north still have not been completely investigated. No systematic research has been made — this is perhaps understandable, when considering the sparse distribution of these inscriptions in Northern India. Neither has exhaustive use been made in recent dynastic monographs of inscriptions mentioned in reports etc. but

[1] B. N. PURI, *The History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras* (Bombay 1957); N S. BOSE, *History of the Candellas* (Calcutta 1956), S. K. MITRA, *The Early Rulers of Khajurāho* (Calcutta 1958)

as yet unpublished. The impression is obtained that *some* dynastic monographs are based on the *published* inscriptions, and that anything more than this is derived from notes on the content of unpublished inscriptions contained in archaeological reports. — The persons mentioned in the available *Gupta* inscriptions bear no titles and could not even be included in the list of local rulers. The survey of dynastic data will therefore have to start with the Gurjara-Pratihāras.

§ 43. The Gurjara-Pratihāra inscriptions. — *samvat 919* (Deogarh). It follows from the text that Luacchagira *(sic!)*[1] was in the year of the inscription subject to Bhojadeva's vassal (mahāsāmanta) Kṛ (?) snarama (Kielhorn: Viṣnurama). The word "giri" (mountain) forming the second element of the word Luacchagira leaves no doubt that this name was in the first instance related to the hill-fort with the temples. In the second place it could also of course refer to a place or an administrative unit. — *Ep. Ind.*, Volume 4, pp. 309-10. — A Bhoja inscription of samvat 933 has been found on the so-called Caturbhuja-Temple at Gwalior (half-way up the hill of the fort). — *Ep. Ind.*, Volume 1, pp. 154-162.

samvat 1025 (Siron Khurd). This is the latest of several dates occurring in a two-part inscription on a slab which is kept in the Śāntinātha-temple at Siron Khurd Only the first part of it (up to the middle of line 39) is of interest to us — this is a list of donations for various Hindu temples. From it we learn that Sīyadonī, present day Siron, was ruled by the following people during the time covered by the report:

mahāsāmantādhipati. . (name illegible)	samvat 960
mahāsāmantādhipati Undabhaṭa	964
mahārājādhirāja Dhūrbhata	969
mahārājādhirāja Niṣkalanka	1005, 1008, 1025

The exact nature of their relationship to one another and to the Gurjara-Pratihāra rulers who were contemporary, cannot be established. Officially, they were vassals to the following kings of that dynasty (names and dates taken from the same inscription):

Mahendrapāla (successor of Bhojadeva)	samvat 960, 964
Devapāla (successor of Kṣitipāla)	1005

Ep. Ind. 1, pp. 162-179 (for the list of vassals and kings special reference should be made to pp. 169 and 170). Compare also the two Undabhata inscriptions from Terahi dating from the year samvat 960 (*Ind. Ant.* 17, p. 201)

samvat 999 and 1000. A hitherto unpublished rock-inscription noticed near Rakhetra (near Budhi Chanderi). "Apparently it records the construction .. of some sort of water works... by Vinayakapaladeva" (*ASIAR* 1924/25, p. 169, report by M. B Garde). Vināyakapāladeva is mentioned in a Khajuraho inscription of samvat 1011 as the nominal overlord of the Candellas (MITRA, p. 32) Quite obviously another ruler's name has not been mentioned in this case and Vināyakapāladeva *himself* is described as the builder of the "water works". — Cf also the information contained in the Partabgarh inscription of samvat 1003 (*Ep. Ind* 14, p. 181) on the political conditions in Ujjain, which still owed allegiance to the Gurjara-Pratihāras at that time (PURI, pp. 88, 94). Partabgarh is situated in Southern Rajasthan, about 20 miles west of Mandasor.

§ 44. The Candella inscriptions. We start this paragraph with a reference to a report by M. B. Garde (*Guide to Chanderi*, pp. 16 foll. and 28-29) whereby a certain king Kīrtirāja had

[1] Cf. the place-name Lacchāgiri (Allahabad District).

caused the lake known as Kīrtisāgar to be constructed at Chanderi while a king Kīrti*pāla* built the fort. Evidently only the second item is confirmed in an inscription (*ASIAR* 1914/15, pt. I, p. 28). It is not clear to which dynasties these two inscriptions belong. Cunningham mentions a Kacchapaghāta Kīrtirāja (Vol. 2, p. 374; see also *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 5, p. 56). The question of the age of Chanderi (i.e. of the new Chanderi as compared to "old" or "Budhi" Chanderi[1]) cannot be dealt with until the details given by Garde have been verified. — Alberuni in his *Taḥkīk-i-Hind* (completed 1030 A.D.) mentions Chanderi ("Jandrā") and Dudahi ("Dūdahī") Cf. E. C. SACHAU, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 202. — After these references we turn to the subject proper of the paragraph.

Six short undated inscriptions on pillars in the ruins of a Hindu temple at Dudahi (known as Choṭī Surang) all mention the name Devalabdhi both with and without genealogy preceding it. We find that Devalabdhi (who presumably built the temple) was a grandson of the Candella King Yaśovarman. Yaśovarman ruled, according to MITRA (p. 37), before samvat 1011 Devalabdhi, who like his father had no title bestowed on him, must have been a non-ruling member of the dynasty. — *Ind. Ant.* 18, pp. 236-37

samvat 1154 (on the Rājghāṭī, Deogarh; cf. p. 29). The inscription informs us that Vatsarāja, the first minister *(mantrīndra)* of the Candella King Kīrtivarman snatched the entire area *(samastam api maṇḍalam)* from the enemy and built the fort Kīrtigiri *(Kīrtigiridurga)*. Kīrtigiri is certainly a later name for the hill of Deogarh. The "enemy" has not yet been identified and must have been an otherwise unknown local ruler.

samvat 1206 A hitherto unpublished inscription from a Jain temple at Madanpur, which contains the name "Madanapura". An older inscription at the same place dated samvat 1112 shows that the place was already in existence before Madanavarman's times, but there is every reason to believe that Madanpur took its name from this particular king (this assumption is also supported by local tradition). Either the name was conferred on a new settlement established on the same spot, or the old place was given a new name. — CUNNINGHAM, Vol. 10, p. 98 and Vol 21, p. 171-72 See also the paragraph which follows, in respect of Madanavarman.

samvat 1223 (and 1219). From a grant (three copper plates found in the village of Semra, east of Madanpur) issued at the orders of the Candella King Paramardideva. Therein donations in various districts are mentioned, including Dudahi *(Dudhai-viṣaya)* and Madanpur *(Madanapura-pattana)* This is a confirmation of donations made by Madanavarman (the grandfather of Paramardideva) in samvat 1219 — *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 4, pp. 153-174.

samvat 1239 A slab which Paramardideva caused to be prepared (now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benares) The inscription on the slab mentions *Duduhi-viṣaya*, which is certainly identical with the *Dudhai-viṣaya* of the donation dated samvat 1223 — MITRA, p. 8, note 35 (based on information supplied by D C. Sircar).

samvat 1239 Three inscriptions, two of which bear this date, on the Madanpur temples known as Choṭī Kacahrī and Baḍī Kacahrī respectively. They tell of the victory of the Cāhamāna King Pṛthvī Rāja III over Paramardideva. — CUNNINGHAM, Vol. 21, pp. 173-74.

§ 45. Information relating to the period of Mohammedan domination (Īltutmish to Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq). The area concerned is about the same as in §§ 42-44.

ca. 1233 Anno Domini. Īltutmish plunders Bhilsa and Ujjain. No mention of Chanderi is

[1] Situated 8 miles to the north-west of Chanderi on the River Orr

made by the historians. — *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* (Transl. Raverty, pp. 621-623 and 628); *Tārikh-i-Mubārakshāhi* (Transl. K. K. Basu, Baroda 1932, p. 20).

1233/34 A.D. Malik Tayasāī, general of Iltutmish, clashed with the Yajvapāla prince, Cāhaḍadeva of Narwar, by the River Sindh. — *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī* (Raverty, pp. 733-34 and 824-25). For Cāhaḍadeva compare also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 47, pp. 241-244.

1251/52 A.D. Balban, at that time Nāsir-ud-dīn's marshal, defeated Cāhaḍadeva, who obviously also ruled over Chanderi. On this occasion Narwar, Chanderi etc. fell into Balban's hands. — *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* (Raverty, pp. 824 and 828, p. 818, note 6). *Tārikh-i-Mubārakshāhi* (Basu, p. 34). Compare also mention of a previous campaign to Gwalior and Malwa undertaken by Tamar Khān during the reign of the Empress Raziyyat-ud-dīn (Raverty, p. 639, note 8; p. 743).

1305 A.D. 'Alā-ud-dīn Khilji's general 'Ain-ul-mulk of Multan defeats the Paramāra King Mahlak Deva and conquers Mandu. Later, Ujjain, Dhar, and Chanderi also fall into his hands. — *Tārikh-i-Fīrūz Shāhi.*

1322 A.D. Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq Shāh sends his son Jūnā Khān (later Muhammad bin Tughluq) to Warangal with troops from Chanderi, "Budaun", and Malwa — FIRISHTA.

About 1335 A.D. Ibn Battūṭa visits Chanderi. He mentions the governor 'Azam Malik and other influential personalities in the town. — IBN BATTŪTA's *Rehla* (Transl. Mahdi Husain, Baroda 1953, pp. 166-67).

1358/59 A.D. (samvat 1415). Inscription on a pillar of the building in Lalitpur known as "Bansa" (Hindu temple or a structure for which Hindu temples supplied the building material) and "said to have been the octroi office of the Muhammadan rulers" *(Jhansi District Gazetteer)*. The inscription mentions "Suratān Peroja Sāhi" (Sultan Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq) — CUNNINGHAM, Vol. 21, p. 176.

§ 46. As shown in § 43, the area under review was under the more or less direct control of the Gurjara-Pratihāras from samvat 919 to samvat 1025. The influence of the Candellas who had made themselves independent by the end of the period therefore still had not yet reached there. Rāstrakūta influence has to be ruled out. It must however be said that the closest inscription of that dynasty is only 40 miles away on a pillar at Pathari (Parabala inscription of samvat 917; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 9, pp 248-256). — We have only a single (undated) Candella inscription, instigated by Devalabdhi, for the period between samvat 1025 and 1154. During the first half of this period the Candellas had nevertheless no serious rivals in this area. Later, the possibility of Kacchapaghāta influence has to be taken into consideration. Under Vajradāman, the Kacchapaghātas had won their independence in Gwalior before samvat 1034, and they ruled there until about samvat 1161 (CUNNINGHAM, Vol. 2, pp 373 foll., PURI pp. 98-99). Moreover, a branch of this dynasty held sway in Narwar a little further to the south (and 80 miles NNW of Deogarh). This is borne out by an inscription at Narwar dated samvat 1177 which mentions a certain Vīrasimhadeva and two predecessors (CUNNINGHAM, Vol. 2, pp 312-13). Finally the inscription on the Larger Sās Bahū Temple on Fort Gwalior (samvat 1150) informs us that the Kacchapaghāta Kīrtirāja (2nd half of the 11th samvat century) defeated the King of Malwa in battle. In *every* instance the Kacchapaghātas of Gwalior, Narwar, and Dubkund (20 miles ENE of Sheopur) exerted more influence than the Paramāras of Malwa who were farther away. To the north of Udaipur (i.e. Chota Udaipur), where the Paramāra Udayāditya built the Nīlakaṇṭheśvara Temple (cf. the inscriptions with the dates samvat 1116 and 1137, § 7), no Paramāra inscriptions would appear to have been found up to the present

time. — The period from samvat 1154 to 1239 can be regarded as one in which this area was part of the Candella Kingdom — and this without interruption (§ 44). There is no evidence of Gāhaḍavāla influence during this period. A recent observation about this (in ZANNAS, p. 41) is a little misleading. Jeannine Auboyer says that the Gāhaḍavāla Govindracandra conquered "Chatarpur and Lalitpur". This information is based on two different inscriptions (N. S. BOSE, p. 83). The first does come from 'Chatarpur', not from the Chatarpur west of Khajuraho however, but from a town north-west of Kanpur, which bears the same name. The second inscription comes from Dudahi, which is south of Lalitpur (formerly Lalitpur Subdivision). This inscription is but a fragment, it is not dated and it is hitherto unpublished. Under present conditions assignment of this inscription to the Gāhaḍavālas is mere supposition (*ASIAR* 1936/37, p. 93). In a drama (Rambhāmañjarīnāṭaka) we are told that Govindracandra has conquered *Daśārna* (East Malwa) but this still requires epigraphic confirmation (R. NIYOGI, *Gahadavala Dynasty*, p. 76). — The victory of the Cāhamāna King Pṛthvī Rāja III over the Candella King Paramardi (recorded in an inscription of samvat 1239 = 1181/82 A.D.) meant that the area was subjected to Cāhamāna influence for a brief period.

However, in 1192 A.D. Muhammad Ghūrī defeated Pṛthvī Rāja in the second battle of Tarain. Admittedly this did not mean the beginning of a new era for Central India, Cāhamāna influence was at an end however and expeditions of the Delhi Sultans (or of their generals) to Gwalior, Narwar, Chanderi and to the region of Malwa became a constant factor to be reckoned with. This intervening period between pure Hindu rule and Moslem government lasted from 1192 A.D. to 1305 A.D. (conquest of Malwa by 'Ala-ud-dīn). Of the campaigns of the Delhi Sultans, the one which interests us most is the expedition which was led by Balban, as one of its results was the capture of Chanderi. Apart from this no mention is made of the town anywhere prior to 1305 A.D. although the expeditions of Īltutmish, Malik Tayasāī, and Tamar Khān may well have left their mark on the area in one way or the other.

On the other hand, a series of inscriptions confirms that the Candellas continued to rule in their traditional area. The inscriptions cover the time from 1204/05 A.D. (samvat 1261) to 1308/09 A D. (samvat 1365), cf MITRA, pp. 128-40. In the period under consideration Narwar was ruled by Yajvapālas (*Ind. Ant*, Vol. 47, pp 241-44) and no longer by Parihāra kings (see below). In Gwalior, Pratihāras ruled during the first half of the 13th Century A.D. being succeeded in the second half by the governors appointed by the Delhi Sultans. [D.C. Ganguly in "*The History and Culture of the Indian People*", Vol. 5, pp. 56-58, surveys the history of Gwalior and Narwar under the dynasties mentioned. He makes no mention of the Parihāras, however, who held sway in Gwalior and Narwar during the 12th Century A.D. (on this point cf CUNNINGHAM, Vol. 2, pp. 313-14 and 377-79)]. A battle took place between the Yajvapāla Gopāla and the Candella Vīravarman near Narwar in about 1281/82 A.D. (samvat 1338), cf. MITRA, p. 136-37. Although the Yajvapāla influence in the south extended at least as far as Surwaya (15 miles south of Narwar and 65 miles NNW of Deogarh) there is no evidence of Yajvapāla rule in the immediate vicinity of Deogarh (for Surwaya compare H. V. TRIVEDI, *The Bibliography of Madhya-Bhārata Archaeology I*, 1953, p. 39) Cāhamāna influence is ruled out anyway. The nearest place under Cāhamāna sway was certainly Balwan (south of Ranthambor) — 150 miles north-west of Deogarh (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 19, pp. 49 foll.). Paramāra influence obviously did not extend beyond (Chota) Udaipur. It would therefore be on the safe side to assume that there was some *Candella influence* during the period in question.

§ 47. As a result of the Malwa expedition of 'Ain-ul-mulk in 1305 A.D., Mandu, Ujjain, Dhar, and Chanderi fell into the hands of that general who was thereupon appointed Governor of the newly conquered district. For the area it meant the start of a long period of Moslem rule. Up to the death of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq the area was under the direct rule of the Delhi Sultans. In 1401 A.D. however the governor of Malwa, Dilāvar Khān Ghūrī, proclaimed his independence and as a result Chanderi came under the hegemony of the Malwa Sultans.

For the later history the reader is referred to the *Jhansi District Gazetteer*, to U.N. Day's book on "*Medieval Malwa*", and to Raghubir Sinh's work on "*Malwa in Transition*". There is no lack of historical sources for this period, but it is nevertheless difficult to visualize the history of the area under review. The only place mentioned repeatedly is Chanderi. The real centres of political activity lay again outside our area. Under these circumstances even a summary is difficult. Suffice it to say that up to the second half of the 15th century Chanderi etc. belonged to the Malwa Sultans of Mandu, and that in the 16th and 17th centuries the political scene was dominated by various Muhammadan powers (first provincial, then Mughal) as well as by Hindu rulers of varying descent. Gradually the influence of the Bundelas (i.e. of Hindu rulers) increased, and with the rise of the Marathas in the 18th century disputes between Marathas and Bundelas became the dominant element. The Marathas proved stronger in the course of this contest but were in their turn ousted by the British. Strictly speaking this only applies to those parts of the area which later formed the district of Jhansi. Chanderi remained in the hands of the Scindias of Gwalior until 1947 when India was granted independence. On April 22nd 1948, 22 former Princely States, including Gwalior (of which Chanderi was a part) were amalgamated in the United States of Gwalior, Indore and Malwa — later known as Madhya Bharat. In 1956 Madhya Bharat became part of the present state of Madhya Pradesh. — The border between the Jhansi District and the Guna District of Madhya Pradesh follows the same course (along the River Betwa) as the border of the former Princely State of Gwalior. As a result, Deogarh is still part of the Jhansi District of Uttar Pradesh, whilst the opposite bank belongs to the Guna District of Madhya Pradesh.

PART TWO

THE JINA-IMAGES OF DEOGARH

CHAPTER SEVEN

IMPORTANT EARLY-MEDIEVAL IMAGES

§ 48 As we have already said in the Introduction (§ 2) the lack of stylistic uniformity observed in the case of the Jain images of Deogarh has few parallels. The obvious implication is that the main task of the art-historical study is the classification of the images. This does not mean however that other methods can be dispensed with. We have also to outline the stylistic development, and we have to supply parallels to the formulas met with in our images (thereby establishing that they are in fact "formulas" [§ 275] and not just forms).

In the case of the *medieval* period we are mainly concerned with the stylistic development. We can of course also study the various formulas (e.g. particular forms of the double-leaf) establishing their existence and studying their distribution. But mostly the relevant formulas are found on such a large number of images, that it becomes unnecessary to trace "parallels". The position is different in the *early*-medieval period. Here the number of images is much smaller, and often a particular formula is only preserved by two or three available specimens. In such cases the search for parallels does not only help to establish formulas, it may even be essential for the proper *understanding* of a particular form(ula). On the other hand there is little scope for a study of stylistic developments. The various early-medieval classes at Deogarh are more or less contemporary. We can only try to distinguish *within* each class images which are late (and generally of little importance) from the rest. — As the art of the early-medieval period is more pluralistic than the art of the medieval period we have ultimately tried to demonstrate the existence of different stylistic idioms in the case of two motifs (cāmara-bearers and Ambikās). In these two cases we are dealing with non-Jinas and the specimens selected do not belong to Deogarh As far as *Jinas* are concerned, the Deogarh material is of itself sufficient to demonstrate early-medieval pluralism.

The number of formulas observed in the early-medieval Jain images of Deogarh is limited. A few rich specimens are sufficient to demonstrate nine tenths of the available formulas. These specimens are probably also earlier than most of the other early-medieval images. We have therefore separated the images under consideration from their respective classes in order to discuss them separately in the present chapter. We have also included a few *isolated* specimens which are interesting on account of their *age alone*.

The Large Śānti (Image No. 1)

§ 49. Standing Jina with curls and without hood-circle. Main idol of Temple No. 12, placed against the backwall of its garbhagrha. Belongs to the Drum-Leaf Style. ("Class with Miniature-Figures", see §§152-55). Figs. 7, 7 A, 8, 8 A, 9, 10, 394 Total height of the composition 17'3". State of preservation good. Slab with the main-figure monolithic, parikara made up of various parts. Dark buff sandstone. No inscription.

The image represents the 16th Jina Śānti. This is established not by a cihna but by five inscriptions appearing elsewhere and mentioning Śānti's name (samvat 919, 1051, 1493, 1695 for which see Chapter 4; one undated inscription for which see p. 38). That Śānti is meant

can also be seen from the gazelle-cihna carved below the middle Jina of the lower tritīrthikā on the lintel of the inner door-frame (samvat 1051) of the same temple. The figure on the so-called dedicatory block in the centre of the lintel does of course not in each and every case represent the same god as the main idol, but here the evidence of the dedicatory block is corroborated by the inscriptions mentioned above. The samvat 1051 inscription even shows that the whole place was called after Śānti (*śrī-Śāntinātha-tīrtha)*. The date of the composition will be about samvat 900 (see p. 36).

§ 50. The image does not show any traces of wanton mutilation. Also in the case of the two rear Ambikās which flank the composition the face of the child carried by the goddess has not been struck off as is the case with the two Ambikā-images in front. This is easily explained by the fact that the rear-part of the garbhagrha was divided off and protected by a cross-wall which existed down to the time of the discovery of the temples (p. 36) It is true that the nose has been cut off in the case of the right-hand rear Ambikā (the noses of the other Ambikās are either intact or else damage to them is minimal). But the defect is probably not old (see § 58). Above the forehead the curls of the main-figure have been rubbed off The surface of the composition is somewhat worn, and only above the bhāmandala does it appear fresh. The parts most affected are the feet and fingers of the main-figure and the lower arms of the two cāmara-bearers (the fingers of the main-figure were restored later on). There can be little doubt that the damage was caused by water. As the cāmara-bearers and the lateral zones in general suffered more than the rest of the composition and as the effect of the water extends to a considerable height we are lead to the conclusion that at some time the image was exposed to rain-water leaking through the ceiling of the garbhagrha (see p. 36) The ritual sprinkling (nowadays confined to the lower part of the legs, below the hands) probably also played its part, but not to a major extent. This water would have affected the main-figure rather than the lateral zones. The parikara shows traces of whitewash, and white colour also remains on the inner walls of the cella. As we have already observed on p. 36 the inner and outer surfaces of the temple were at one time covered with whitewash.

§ 51. The composition reaches to the ceiling and its upper part interrupts the friezes which decorate the beams supporting the ceiling. These friezes are (from bottom to top): a "closed triangle-frieze", an "open triangle-frieze" (pointing downwards), and a "leaf-frieze" (pointing upwards). The leaf-frieze which appears on top is bordered on its upper side by "beads" (Fig. 7A and Fig. 394, nos 26-28) On a level with the lower edge of the lower triangle-frieze, with the lower edge of the beam below it, and with the lower edge of the block below the latter, run three horizontal joints which divide the upper part of the composition into three zones. Further joints in the parikara can be seen in the photos. The outline of the parikara is not straight but broken up by numerous projections and recesses. No attempt was made to set off the composition against the architecture of the rear-wall of the garbhagrha (i.e. against the beams described). The monolithic slab with the main-figure extends from the upper edge of the bhāmandala to the lower edge of the pedestal. — The open triangle-frieze recurs in the peripheral zone of the upper side of the middle parasol-top. Leaf-frieze and beads also appear on the upper side of the two other parasol-tops (not visible in the photos), below the kīrtimukha-composition (no. 13 in Fig. 394), in the inner zone of the bhāmandala, and on the corbel no. 3 The beads always border the leaf-frieze on its open side (i.e. above the points of the leaves).

§ 52. *The main-figure with the bhāmaṇḍala.* From the iconographic point of view our figure is completely "nude". On the one hand, Śānti is one of those Jinas which are not provided with either hood-circle or strands. On the other hand even those elements which can be attached to the body of *each* Jina are missing: foot-lotus (in the case of the Jina normally in the shape of a pedestal-lotus), uṣṇīsa-lotus, palm-lotus (probably restricted to medieval Jinas), and śrī-vatsa. There is also no trace of the nipples. — The absence of the cihna has already been mentioned. Ambikā and her partner (§ 264) are also not depicted. The four Ambikā-images in the cella can hardly be regarded as a substitute for these, in spite of their uniformity and in spite of their position (i e. in spite of the fact that they form together with the main-figure an iconographic unit). — On the other hand the parikara is unusually rich, containing such rare elements as the Navagrahas and the double-rosette.

Jina-figures follow several more or less regional types. There is a strongly built type with Western influence (SHAH, *Akota*, Pl. 2a. b and p. 20: Chausa Bronzes), a South Indian type with extremely broad shoulders (*Lalit Kalā* 1/2, Frontispiece); and finally a less masculine Northern type with narrow, round shoulders (SHAH, *Studies*, Fig. 26). In the Middle Ages these types were modified and elaborated by stylizations of various descriptions. In the case of the Gommata of Sravana Belgola, stylization is seen in the elements lying on or projecting from the surface of the body (curls etc.). In the case of the medieval images of Central India it is the anatomy itself which is determined by the trend towards stylization. — Our Śānti does not bear close resemblance to any Jina-image known to me: neither does it fall into one of the three categories mentioned The most conspicuous feature of the figure is the emphasis placed on the vertical To some extent it shares this feature with other Jina-images but here it is more pronounced: The figure is very slim; the arms are almost completely straight; there is the merest suggestion of a waist; the thickness of the legs hardly decreases towards the feet so that the sides are almost parallel; the genitalia also betray the emphasis on the vertical; the uṣṇīsa is very tall. The anatomy would appear to be built up from separate geometrical solids. Knees and waist are indicated in a conventional manner by knee-bumps and waist-roll projecting from the "core". The neck is not organically connected with the body but rendered as a cylinder inserted into the shoulders. In particular, eyes, nose, lips and chin are to all appearances stuck on the body, the first impression being that they are the result of restoration-work. A Hari-Hara-image in Rajasthan also has a physiognomy which is formed in such an additive manner (post-Gupta; *Lalit Kalā*, 6, Pl 17, Fig. 1). — The plinth on which the Jina is standing is quite plain. The bhāmaṇḍala consists of two zones divided by a bead-border. The inner one is decorated by a leaf-frieze and the outer one by a composite frieze. Both motifs are frequently met with on bhāmaṇḍalas. The individual leaves of the leaf-circlet (as we have to call the leaf-frieze in this case) are squarish This treatment does not recur very often but is in evidence in various periods. The square formula is met with in the Kuṣāna period (*Indian Archaeology* 1957/58, Pl. 91 C), in the post-Gupta period (our Images Nos. 8 and 9, Figs. 20-21), and in the medieval period (unpublished seated Jina in a Jain temple at Bhojpur, *Bhopal* 24/54). An example of the composite frieze on a bhāmandala is furnished by a Bodhisattva at Sarnath (Fig. 298). It would appear that our image is one of the latest instances of the use of this frieze.

§ 53. The composition of the parikara is "additive" and this is by the very nature of the parikara even more conspicuous than in the case of the main-figure. Once more the emphasis is on the vertical. The *parts of the parikara* will be described in the order in which they are numbered in Fig. 394.

PANEL 1: The two cāmara-bearers (for the description of the panels 2 foll. refer to § 57). *Anklets* as they are found in the case of our two figures seem to be absent from contemporary or earlier cāmara-bearers. In the case of the Gupta temple at Deogarh such anklets are restricted to female figures according to M.S. Vats (*MASI* 70, p. 37). — The *scarf* is a cloth with parallel folds whether twisted or not. It generally runs from top left to bottom right (or *vice versa*) over the thighs. The photo *Lalit Kalā* 6, Pl. 21 shows a male figure with scarf (twisted) from the rear. As a rule the scarf is secured by a single knot at the side (in the case of the photo quoted a knot is seen on either side). In the case of pairs of figures the scarfs run parallel or they are arranged in a symmetrical manner. See *MASI* 70, Pl. 9b. c (in the full view Pl. 9a, left and right have been transposed) for the first case, and *Ancient India* 6, Pl. 19B for the second case Our two figures show the scarfs (which are twisted) arranged symmetrically, the knot appearing at the outer side. The rendering is very superficial. — *Short sakacch dhotī*. See Figs. 301-07. The lower hem and the folds are no longer visible. A more complete idea of this garment can be obtained from the better preserved cāmara-bearers of Image No. 13 (Fig. 30). The liṅga is visible under the cloth. The line above the linga indicates the tucked-in upper edge of the dhotī. — The *kaṭisūtra* which secures the dhotī (Fig. 301) is not visible. The fastening of the katisūtra is obviously rendered according to the formula of Fig. 311. All that can be seen now are the two loop-ends of the katisūtra, of which only one is visible in the picture (Fig. 10). — *Yajñopavīta* (sacred thread of the twice-born resting on the left shoulder and running along the right side). Our two figures wear the yajñopavīta which is apparently not found with the cāmara-bearers of the Gupta period and which was optional subsequently (the trend obviously was to provide the cāmara-bearers with attributes like mukuta, yajñopavīta which were found in the case of king-gods like Viṣnu and Sūrya). The shape of the yajñopavīta and the way in which it is worn vary greatly. In this example it probably was a simple ribbon running, in the case of the left-hand cāmara-bearer, a few inches above the twisted scarf over the legs (now it can be traced only up to the middle of the right thigh). In the case of the right-hand cāmara-bearer the yajñopavīta only extends up to the scarf; the rest has either been broken off or else it must be imagined below the scarf (see the Buddha-image at Sirpur, DIKSHIT, Pl. 52). — *Armlet with triangular ornament* In contemporary art armlets are either plain or, as is the case here, provided with an ornament. The ornament tapers upwards from the ring, and the armlet is worn in such a way that the ornament appears on the outer side of the arm (see the female cāmara-bearer from Akota: SHAH, *Akota*, Pl. 42a). In the case of our two figures the ornament is triangular. — A plain *bracelet* appears on the right wrist of the left-hand figure. — *Necklace* All that can be seen now is a plain ribbon but originally this must have been a pearl-necklace or something similar. — *Ear-ring and ear-disk*. As in many other cases, one ear of the cāmara-bearers is adorned with a ring and one with a disk (rings on the inner sides and disks on the outer sides of the figures). The "ring" perforates the ear-lobe (our Fig 16) whereas the "disk" is pressed into the ear-lobe which is thereby widened excessively (COOMARASWAMY, Fig 173). Our two terms (ring and disk) refer to the way in which the ornament is attached to the ear. Actually the "ring" may take the form of a perforated disk (KRAMRISCH, *Art*, Fig. 54 right) and the "disk" may take the form of a ring (COOMARASWAMY, Fig. 175). As is often the case, the rings of our cāmara-bearers are studded with pearls, while the disks are provided with a snail-pattern. — *Mukuta*. Cāmara-bearers are shown either with or without mukutas The mukutas of our two figures are decorated with alternating single and double chains, a motif which is also found on pillars (ZANNAS, 149). Below the chains three triangular elements can be seen, the bases of which coincide with the

lower edge of the mukuta (compare the ornaments attached to the armlets). The intermediate point is flanked by two rosettes. This type of mukuṭa is quite common in Deogarh but the rendering is always more or less superficial. A more detailed representation is found, for example, in the case of two images in the Gwalior Museum[1]. — *Cāmara and lotus in the two hands.* The combination of cāmara and lotus is common with attendant figures (DIKSHIT, Pl. 53), but in these cases the lotus normally has a long stalk and it may also be in full bloom. The combination of the cāmara with a lotus *consisting of a short stalk with a bud* seems to be a formula peculiar to Deogarh. — *Bhāmaṇḍala.* Since the Gupta period the halo is quite common with attendant-figures. The bhāmandalas of our cāmara-bearers are plain but they project from the rear-wall. The *plinths* are plain as in the case of the main-figure but much higher. — *Posture etc.* The two cāmara-bearers reflect the stylistic tradition of the Gupta period. Stylistic parallels from a somewhat earlier period are found at Sirpur (DIKSHIT, Pl. 52-53) and Nadia (KRAMRISCH, *Art*, 54). The heads of our figures are however longer. The features are most reminiscent of those of the figures at Nadia. Dresses and ornaments partly correspond to a small bronze figure from Nepal (KRAMRISCH, *Art of Nepal*, p. 60, "late eighth century"). Iconographically and stylistically the two figures are also connected with the cāmara-bearers of the four Buddhas of Stūpa no. 1 at Sanchi (MARSHALL/FOUCHER, *Sāñchī*, Vol. II, Pl. 70) and with some other statues found at that place (Vol. III, Pl. 125 a-c). The specimens from Sanchi are however much older. — The two cāmara-bearers under discussion are built up symmetrically (compare 'attendant-figures' in § 12).

§ 54 The discussion of the two attendant-figures has shown that they are, in spite of the absence of any special feature, without exact parallel. In particular there is not much agreement with *contemporary* images as the two figures owe more to the earlier period. Now it would be of little use to list sporadic parallels to single features amongst contemporary images or to demonstrate in detail the indebtedness to the preceding Gupta period. We shall, therefore, undertake a comparison with special emphasis not on similarity but on dissimilarity. Starting from the two figures we shall try to demonstrate the variety of stylistic idioms obtaining in Central India in the early-medieval period. The specimens selected by us are of course *related* to the two cāmara-bearers in so far as their iconographic type is concerned. This was desirable for the simple reason that stylistic differences are most conspicuous when iconographic differences are minimal. It does however not imply stylistic relationship. See also §§ 64 A, 70.

We start with the specimen which is least different from the two cāmara-bearers. This is the main-figure on the lower door-jamb (to the right) of the outer door-frame of the Telī-kā-mandir at Gwalior (Fig. 11, refer also to the two photos in ROWLAND, *Art and Architecture of India*, 111[2]) The two male figures on the lower door-jambs to the right and to the left vary from each other both iconographically and anatomically. We shall ignore the left-hand figure which has not much in common with our cāmara-bearers. The right-hand figure however shows some general resemblance with them. The main differences are as follows: The figure wears a jaṭā, holds a trident and is not provided with a bhāmaṇḍala. The anklets are missing. The kaṭisūtra is depicted and takes the form of a chain. The armlets are broader, and the ornaments attached to them (hardly visible in the photo) appear on the inner sides of the arms.

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[1] Indra from Badoh. *Gwalior* 1749 Viṣṇu from Suhania. *Gwalior* 1706 The Viṣṇu is reproduced in the *Gwalior Reports* (1926/27, Pl 3b), the plate is however not very satisfactory

[2] The right photo shows the *left* lower door-jamb of the same door-frame.

The individual elements of the necklace are visible and it becomes wider at the centre. The knot of the twisted scarf is rendered by a thick roll and a flat end. On the left thigh the presence of the festoon of pearls is indicated (compare Fig. 16 etc.). The abdomen protrudes slightly above the upper edge of the dhotī. As in the case of the Large Śānti the neck is grooved horizontally. The yajñopavīta is missing. The dhotī follows more or less the formula of Fig. 13, and the degree of stylization is about the same. The lower hem of the dhotī cannot be seen. The zigzag-line of the dhotī-end hanging down between the legs (caused by folding it diagonally) is rendered by superimposed horizontal ridges, but one of several formulas. For the horizontal ridges a post-Gupta Śiva from Bhanpur can be compared (*Bhopal* 121/53-54). A more realistic fold-formula is employed in the case of a Mañjuśrī in the National Museum, New Delhi (DE MALLMANN, *Mañjuśrī*, Pl. 3).

As compared with the cāmara-bearers, the metal elements of the Gwalior figure (armlet, necklace, kaṭisūtra) are sharper, and the specific character of the cloth elements is still less apparent. The relief of the figure is lower, and the fact that the space between the legs is filled by the dhotī-end increases the impression of flatness. The body is tube-like in appearance, and this is especially noticeable as the arms are missing. The body is bending mainly from the thighs and from the *neck* (tribhanga, but not in the sense of § 13). Compare the right-hand cāmara-bearer of Fig. 211. The strands are arranged in a mukuta-like manner.

§ 55. The male figures on the inner sides of the lower door-jambs of the outer door-frame of the Māladevī-temple (see Fig. 12 and FISCHER, *Schöpfungen indischer Kunst*, Fig. 256, also refer to *Gwalior Report* 1935/36, Pl. 1 and 1936/37, Pl. 2). We select for our purpose the right-hand figure but the figure on the opposite side is quite similar. The male figures which appear to the left and to the right on the *faces* of the door-jambs show the stylistic peculiarities of the inner figures to a lesser extent and differ also in detail. The right-hand inner figure shows a few features not mentioned before: an ornament (with a big gem) connected to either anklet, a pronounced lower hem on the short sakacch dhotī, parallel lines incised on the dhotī, a compact katisūtra, fan-like locks hanging down to the shoulders, sheathing of the mukuta by three rows of triangular antefixes (see the *armlet* of p. 72). Vegetable motifs are seen below the feet, to the right of the feet, and behind the head, so that the figure is less isolated than those discussed previously. The general impression is that of a well-modelled human body, to the surface of which flat sharp-edged elements have been applied (compare ROWLAND, *Art and Architecture*, Pl. 95 and the description given on pp 146 foll) The emphasis on the hard elements is most clearly seen in the case of the mukuta. The flat ornamental antefixes cover the mukuta just as the śikhara of a temple is surrounded by miniature-śikharas. The twisted scarf is reduced to a comparatively thin roll, and the original twist of the cloth is only indicated by thin diagonal double-lines The surface of the figure is polished wherever possible, and this endows it with a metallic lustre.

§ 56. The male figure on the left-hand lower door-jamb of the Gargaj Mahādeva-temple at the village of Indor (Fig. 13). In spite of the missing head we have selected the left-hand figure as it demonstrates the stylistic idiom typical of the temple better than the well-preserved figure to the right. To bring out the peculiarity of the new idiom it would of course be necessary to illustrate and to describe *all* the sculptures of the temple. But a certain impression can also be gained from the selected figure. The tendency to render the ornaments with metallic precision recurs. But these elements are less prominent so that the body comes more

into its own. The specific character of the cloth forming the twisted scarf is preserved. The whole figure is not so harsh. The elegant stylization of the loop of the scarf, and the attitude, give a certain smartness to the figure. Finally the composition is more coherent than in the case of the two earlier groups where the construction was more additive. In this connection note should be taken of the following features: the parallelism of the attitudes of the figures, the overlapping, the way in which the various elements are brought in harmony with the bodies, and the contrast in the rendering of the right and left arm of the male figure. — The dhoti-end is tucked up under the edge of the dhotī and the uppermost part of the end is turned outside.

§ 57. [The remaining panels of the Large Śānti:] PANELS 2, 7, and 16. On capitals 2 and 7, and on corbel 16, appears what we called in § 10 the "palmyra-motif". The development of this feature will be apparent from Figs. 317-19, 322-23.

PANEL 3. Corbel decorated with leaf-frieze and bead-border.

PANELS 4, 5, 6, AND 8. Pillars and throneframe-animals are borrowed from seated images (compare the standing Jina of Chahardi, SHAH, *Akota*, 7). The series of animals follows the wide-spread formula "elephant-protome, vyāla, makara-protome". In the gaping mouths of the makaras small human figures are depicted. — Compare for the four panels the seated Tārā of Kurkihar (THAPAR, *Icons in Bronze*, 32).

PANELS 9-12. On the Jina-images of Central India the Navagrahas are depicted but rarely, and these panels probably form one of the earliest instances in this area. A seated Jina-image of about the same date, where the Navagrahas are also shown, has been found on the Gwalior Fort (Fig. 32). In both cases the individual grahas are depicted in the standard-form (seven grahas as complete human figures, Rāhu and Ketu as a human bust and as a nāga respectively).

PANEL 13 Kīrtimukha framed by scrollwork-compositions arranged symmetrically. This is not so much an extended kīrtimukha-motif, but a vegetable composition where the motif in the centre changes from case to case. Permitted are *inter alia* a kīrtimukha-motif *or* two figures facing each other. Below, Panel 13 is bordered by a leaf-frieze and a bead-border.

PANEL 14. Palmyra-leaf. Compare Panel 23.

PANEL 15. Garland-bearers. The garland is carried by the male figure The female squats on the outstretched leg of the hovering male as on a vāhana ("Badami-formula", Fig. 313). With both hands she holds her dupattā "fluttering in the wind", and this forms a semicircle over her head (see Fig. 313). The garland-bearers of the "trimūrti" of Padhavli are fairly similar (Catalogue "*5000 Jahre Kunst aus Indien*", Essen 1959, p. 389).

PANELS 17, 20, AND 21. The unusual separation of the lowest parasol-top from the two upper ones is due to the duplication of the parikara-top, which is also found elsewhere (§ 171). The expression "duplication" refers to the zone as such, not to each individual element. In our case, the lower zone consists of Panels 13-19, the upper zone of Panels 20-25. Only the garland-bearers were actually portrayed twice (Panels 15 and 25). Apart from this, the duplication was achieved by division (one parasol-top below, two parasol-tops above) and by introducing additional elements (decorative composition above the lowest parasol-top, double-rosette in Panel 24). — Of the three parasol-tops, the central one is decorated on the lower side as well (half lotus-blossom), but the other two are plain except for their upper sides. The lowest parasol-top shows (from the centre outwards) leaf-frieze, bead-border, egg-and-dart; the central one has a bead-border and an open triangle-frieze; the top one is adorned with a leaf-frieze and a bead-border. In the case of the central parasol-top, where the upper

side is covered by the "top" parasol-top, the decoration is restricted to the periphery.

PANEL 18. The surface is covered by a triple lotus in the same stylization as found, in the case of many North Indian temples, on the face of the block projecting from the centre of the door-sill: the lateral buds are replaced by scroll-work and the pericarp in the centre is shown from the edge (see *Gwalior Report* 1929/30, Pl. 1b). Mr. Phatak who prepared the drawings for me has noticed anthropomorphic elements to the left and to the right of the stalk in the centre. I could not check his observations, but generally speaking, mutual penetration of vegetable and figure elements is not uncommon in the case of this motif (compare the seated Buddha, BANERJI, Pl. 28c, where the motif occupies the horizontal zone below the seat-lotus). As compared with the parasol above it, Panel 18 is slightly pushed to the right. Such an irregularity is not surprising because the parikara is pieced together.

PANEL 19. Here we find elephants with riders (compare *Lalit Kalā* 7, Pl. 17). Other human figures stand on the ground The motif recurs at Deogarh in the case of two other early-medieval images (Figs 31, 34-35). The animals are reminiscent of abhiseka-elephants. Both motifs differ however in detail.

PANEL 22. Drummer flanked by two smaller human figures. The drummer has the same position as the drummer in Figs. 34-35 (refer also to the close-up of the relevant portion in KRAMRISCH, *Hindu Temple*, Pl. 55). The prototypes are found in Gandhāran art (LYONS/INGHOLT, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, Pl. 366). The image SHAH, *Akota*, Pl. 55, which also has a drummer, is hardly older than our Śānti. It therefore does not help us to trace the motif back and to find a link between the early-medieval and the Gandhāran form of the motif. The puzzling attitude of the two lateral figures will be better understood if we make a comparison with the right-hand upper *garland-bearer* (panel 25)[1]. The upper part of the body halves the angle formed by the thighs. It seems that the hands are held together in adoration. A small leaf appears below the two worshippers in the corner between the parasol-top and the double-leaf.

PANEL 23. Double-leaf. An early Jina-image showing the double-leaf can be seen at Rajgir (Fig. 76), but in that case the form of the motif is different. In Panel 23 we are dealing with two pairs of leaves derived from the palmyra-palm (Fig. 321). The leaves are suspended from thick stalks. Apart from minor exceptions, the double-leaf of the Jina-images at Deogarh is always based on the palmyra-palm, and all the varieties found can be traced back to the formula of Images Nos. 1 and 13.

PANEL 24 Double-rosette in high relief. For parallels see Figs. 324-26 — The double-rosette is also found in the Gupta period (northern Buddha of Stūpa no. 1 at Sanchi: MARSHALL/FOUCHER, *Sāñchi*, Vol II, Pl. 70a). A double series of rosettes with garland-like appendices is seen on the upper part of a relief-stūpa at Amaravati (BARRETT, *Amaravati*, Pl. 4).

PANEL 25. Single garland-bearer. The juxtaposition of garland-bearing couples and single garland-bearers is not restricted to this image (see Figs. 44 and 147 A). The two garland-bearers appear against the background of a plaque-like cloud ('back-plate') which is hardly to be recognized as such. Compare the single genii BARRETT, *A Guide to the Buddhist Caves of Aurangabad*, 1957, Pl. 13, 15, and 16.

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[1] The left-hand garland-bearer is somewhat indistinct in the photo, but its attitude is the same. Conversely the garland itself is clearer in the case of the left-hand figure.

The Five Early Ambikās (Images Nos. 2-6)[1]

§ 58. The five Ambikās are standing goddesses without inscriptions. See Figs. 9, 14-17. Nos. 2-5 consist of dark brown sandstone (the same colour as in the case of the Large Śānti) and stand in the garbhagṛha of Temple No. 12. Ambikās Nos. 3 and 4 appear to the left and to the right of the Large Śānti and they fill the space between the main-idol and the socles of the pillars in the corners of the garbhagṛha. In the case of both images the height is 3′11.5″ (without plinth). Nos. 2 and 5 face each other and each is fitted in the space between two pillars (No. 2 is standing to the left and No. 5 to the right, see Fig 393). The height is 5′3.5″ and 5′2.5″ respectively (again without plinth). No. 6 consists of grey sandstone and stands in Temple No. 16. Except for No. 4 where the nose is cut away completely, damage to the features is minimal. In the case of Nos. 2 and 5 the face of the upper child (i.e. of the child carried in the arms) has been cut away. The Ambikā of Image No. 2 has sustained damage to its right hand (see § 50) Nos. 4 and 6 have been worn down considerably. Strangely enough the broken surface on the face of No. 4 is still rough. It therefore seems that this damage took place after the image had been affected by the water (§ 50) It is not unlikely that the image was damaged unintentionally in modern times. In quality, Image No. 5 comes first; the second place is occupied by No. 2. Iconographically the four Ambikās in the garbhagṛha of Temple No. 12 and the Large Śānti form a sort of unit. It would be tempting to treat the four Ambikās of Temple No. 12 as one group. The differences between Nos. 2-5 on the one hand and No. 6 on the other are not however greater than the differences between Nos. 2-5 themselves. There is therefore no reason to separate Image No. 6 (in Temple No. 16) from the rest. The Ambikā-Image No. 7 in Wall-Section VIII could however be ignored. In No 7 the lion is rendered in a very superficial way, and there are no features which are not also found in the other Ambikā-images. The upper part of the slab (with the tree-top) is missing and the surface is largely covered by whitewash.

§ 59. The *anklets* are missing from Nos. 3 and 4, and are rendered superficially in the case of Nos. 2 and 6. A careful representation is only found on No. 5. Here it can be clearly seen that the element consists of a chain resting on the upper side of the foot. — *Long sakacch dhotī.* See Figs. 301-03. The vertical ridge between the legs shows that the artist wanted to represent a sakacch dhotī. It must however be admitted that the two lower hems of the dhotī (on the right and left leg) show a tendency to form a continuous horizontal ridge suggesting the lower hem of the frock-like *vi*kacch dhotī (see in particular Fig. 15). This is probably the result of a contamination, or rather of an oscillation between the two formulas. — In the case of Nos. 2, 5, and 6 the end of the dhotī is tucked up over the belt. No. 5 has an additional feature: Here the extremity of the part to be tucked up is turned outside (cf. Fig. 13). The dhotī-loop over the left leg of No. 6 is reminiscent of the formula of Fig. 304. — The *kaṭisūtra* is secured by a clasp at the front. From this clasp are suspended festoons of pearls which sweep down over the thighs. The form of the kaṭisūtra and of the clasp varies. For example, the kaṭisūtra of No. 5 is braided while that of No. 6 seems to consist of pearls. In No. 5 a thin cord hangs out of the clasp. Obviously the artist mistakenly regarded the end of the kaṭisūtra as an independent element and depicted it according to the old formula (Figs. 308-09). A small bell is attached to the end of the cord. In No. 4 the bell is attached in the same way to

[1] Not included in our system of styles and classes. — Image No. 7 has not been discussed (§ 58).

a chain hanging down from the clasp. In Nos. 2 and 6 the motif of the festoons of pearls has been enlarged upon: the festoons mentioned above are supplemented by less bold ones forming smaller parallel arches above them. In No. 6 the right lower festoon coincides with the upper hem of the tucked-up dhotī. In the case of No. 3 dhotī and hip-decoration look somewhat odd. Probably the artist has failed to represent these elements in the correct manner. — The *dupattā* or scarf (called by us invariably "dupaṭṭā" in order to avoid confusion with the scarf running over the thighs). This article plays an important part in our images. It is worn in such a way that the ends hang down in front (modern practice is to have the ends hanging down from the back). The dupaṭṭā runs downwards over the upper arms and should in theory rest on the shoulders The artists normally represent the dupattā according to one of the two formulas illustrated in Figs. 327 and 328 respectively. In the first case the dupattā is virtually represented as resting on the shoulders (that the cloth is shown from the surface instead of from the edge is only due to "wrong" perspective). In the second case the impression is conveyed that the dupattā is slipping off the shoulders. Nos. 2 and 5 follow the first formula, the rest following the second. In none of the five cases is the rendering satisfactory in every respect. — *Bracelet*. Apart from Image No. 2 all the Ambikās wear simple bracelets. No. 2 has instead long metal cuffs. The joints of these cuffs run lengthwise (see ZIMMER, 139, especially the left rear arm of the main-figure). — *Armlet*. No 5 has the same type of armlet as the cāmara-bearers of the Large Śānti, and No. 4 wears a broad, plain ring. The others have the usual armlet supplemented by an ornament. This ornament is half oval in shape (ZIMMER, 128, right arm of the male figure). — *Necklaces and chains* All the images wear necklaces made up of several rows. Each necklace has an ornament in its centre (in No 5 this takes the form of a rosette). The Images Nos. 2, 4, and 5 have additional chains with medallions attached to their ends. In No. 5 there appears what we may call a "loop-chain" (for a very clear example of this ornament see *Lalit Kalā* 8, Pl. 30,6). The eyelet between the breasts which keeps the two strings in position can however hardly be recognized. In No 2 the same formula is employed in a less skilful way, but the loop-chain is doubled above the eyelet as in the example quoted from *Lalit Kalā*. In the case of No 4 the loop-chain is contaminated with the channavīra[1]. Above the eyelet both coincide, but below they are separate. — *Ear-rings*. All the five goddesses wear rings in both ears, one of the few points they all have in common. The rings are studded with large or small pearls. Image No. 5 has two rows, an inner row made up of small pearls and an outer row made up of large pearls (ASHTON, 34 left: female bust, Gwalior). With regard to the large pearls as such, the closest similarity is found between the Gwalior bust and *Image No. 4* (compare also the Śiva of Bhanpur mentioned in § 54). — *Hair style*. The hair is always twisted around a semicircular or circular roller made of wire or something similar. The ivory statue from Ter shows the method adopted (*Lalit Kalā* 8, frontispiece: front view; Pl. 1 left: rear view). There is a tendency on the part of the artists to exaggerate the size of the roller and to place it high above the head (ASHTON, 34 left). Between the head and the roller the hair is tightened by pearl-strings. — *Fillet*. All the goddesses wear fillets. Above the forehead an ornament and two rosettes flanking it are attached to the fillet. In general the ornament is similar to the corresponding element on the armlet. In the case of No. 5 the ornament shows a design similar to that of the clasp of the kaṭisūtra beneath. The fillet is placed well up on the head of this figure (cf. Fig. 18 A). In the other cases it rests directly above the

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[1] Or, to be more correct, with a channavīra-like arrangement of chains (compare THAPAR, *Icons in Bronze*, Pl. 65). The true channavīra is depicted in *MASI* 70, Pl. 16.

forehead (BANERJEA, 18,3). What appears to be a second fillet directly above the forehead of No. 5 is probably only a row of curls. It certainly looks as if the ornament rests on this "ring"; but obviously the true fillet to which the ornament is actually attached was pushed up, whereas the ornament itself retained its original position. — *Posture etc.* Nos. 2 and 5 are well proportioned and the dvibhanga is not exaggerated. The other three goddesses stand straight or almost straight. The waist of No. 4 is very narrow whereas in No. 3 the waist is hardly indicated (an anatomy similar to that of No. 4 is shown by a river-goddess on a broken door-jamb in the Museum near the Gupta temple). In all cases the folds of the neck and of the abdomen are clearly indicated. The features of No. 5 are reminiscent of the Gwalior bust already quoted (ASHTON, 34 left) while those of Nos. 2 and 3 can be compared to a Pārvatī at Ellora (KRAMRISCH, *Art*, Fig. 10 of the "Appendix"). No. 4 has a remarkably long head. The features of No. 6 resemble those of Nos. 2 and 3.

§ 60. We start the description of the attributes with the *pedestal-lotus*. Except Nos. 2 and 4 all the Ambikās are provided with a pedestal-lotus (compare the goddesses on the outer walls of Temple No. 12, some of whom stand on a lotus, while the others have not been provided with this feature). This specific formula of the feet-lotus must have been borrowed from the Jina-iconography as it is hardly met with elsewhere. — *Worshipper.* In Image No. 6 a seated adorant (shown from the side) is depicted to the left of the pedestal-lotus. — The *lion* is shown from the side, and in the representation it is divided into two parts by the main-figure standing in the centre. The two parts are not always in harmony with each other (similar technical problems arise in the case of the dupattā which is interrupted by the neck; see in particular Fig. 16). See § 143 In No. 3 the head of the lion is turned sharply back towards the goddess, whereas the other lions adopt a more relaxed attitude. Except for the last-mentioned image the animals turn their heads towards the viewer. A detailed examination of the differences between the five lions is unnecessary. The artist of Image No. 2 has rendered the lion most carefully. In this case the small bump between the eyes and the horn-like protuberance between the ears are very distinct. These two elements betray the influence of the kīrtimukha on the actual lion. — *Standing child.* In Images Nos. 2, 3 and 6 the child standing to the left of the goddess and reaching for the bunch of mangoes is rendered in a rather uniform way. In Image No. 5 the child does not stand straight but has its knees bent slightly. Probably the artist wanted to indicate that it is running towards its mother. In Image No. 4 the treatment is very different: The child is shown from the front and it is so small that it has to stretch its arm upwards to reach the mangoes at all. Strange to say the standing child of Image No. 2 has a bhāmaṇḍala (hardly visible in Fig. 14). — *Bunch of mangoes.* In the case of Images Nos. 2, 5 and 6 the same formula was adopted. The rendering in Image No. 3 is clumsy or unfinished. No. 4 has a stylized version. The bunch of fruit and the circlet of curved leaves form two superimposed elements of similar character. The same motif appears in an indistinct form in the tree of this image. See Figs. 386-87. In Image No. 6 a *second* bunch of mangoes is held in the mis-shapen left hand. The child carried on the arm holds a mango-fruit in one hand and reaches for the ear-ornament of its mother with the other. In Nos. 2, 3 and 5 the rendering of the child is rather uniform. No. 6 deviates slightly. Here the artist attempted to show the bent left arm of the goddess from its inner side, thereby causing it to appear unnaturally short. No. 4 follows a formula of its own: The child sits on the arm instead of on the hip of its mother. — In Nos. 3 and 6 the *bhāmaṇḍala* is missing. In No. 4 it is indicated by a thin line, and in Nos. 2 and 5 it is represented by a flat disk. It can be said that in No. 6 the lower or rather inner edge

of the tree-top serves as a substitute for the true bhāmaṇḍala. — *Tree.* In No. 5 the top of the tree consists of leaves, twigs, and fruit forming a whole, and only the additional elements (garland-bearers and miniature-Jina) are rendered as separate motifs. In Nos. 3 and 4 the top of the tree is not represented in a realistic way. Here the elements of the tree proper and the additional elements are juxtaposed in a heraldic manner. All the constituent parts are arranged on the same plane, and the top of the tree no longer forms the *back*ground for the additional elements. In No. 3 we have two stylized leaf-compositions, two garland-bearers, and a miniature-Jina with a back-plate. Image No. 4 employs bunches of mangoes according to the formula already described above, four unidentified globular elements (Figs. 386-87), two garland-bearers, and a miniature-Jina with a back-plate. Nos. 2 and 6 occupy an intermediate position between Nos. 5 and 3/4. In the case of Images Nos. 2, 3, 5 and 6 there is a gradual transition between the trunk of the tree (as it appears above the head of the goddess) and the branches. In the case of No. 4 however the trunk takes the shape of a stick on which the crown of the tree rests — as the parasol-top rests on the parasol-stick. — *Miniature-Jina.* The treatment of the Jina and of the elements connected with it varies noticeably. In all cases except Image No. 2 the Jina is seated on a lotus the petals of which are more or less clearly pointing downwards. But in No. 2 the carefully rendered petals are pointing upwards. This archaic formula recurs in the case of the seat-lotuses of two miniature-Jinas appearing on the broken early-medieval door-jamb mentioned in § 19. The treatment of the seat-lotus of Image No. 9 (§ 66) may also be compared. The size of the Jinas varies being particularly small in the case of Image No. 2 and especially large in the case of Image No. 3 — *Bhāmaṇḍalas and back-plates of the miniature-Jinas.* The back-slab is missing in No. 6; in Nos. 2 and 5 it takes the shape of a half-oval which extends beyond the Jina both above it and at the side. In No. 3 and 4 we also have a half-oval but it is lying and projects only at the side. In these and in other cases (compare BANERJI, 8b: two figures to the upper right and left) there is no clear-cut line of demarcation between bhāmaṇḍala and back-plate. That the back-plate serves virtually as a bhāmaṇḍala is obvious in the case of No. 5 from its small size, and in the case of No. 3 from the radial hatching. In No. 2 a circular bhāmandala is incised on the back-plate but this does not coincide with the back-plate in its entirety. No. 4 has no indication of the bhāmaṇḍala at all. — *Garland-bearers.* The motif is more or less the same in Nos. 2, 3, 5 and 6. It should however be noticed that in No. 5 the garlands are adorned both at the ends and in the middle by lotus-blossoms and that the garland-bearers of No. 2 are provided with back-plates. Strange to say these back-plates are not employed to indicate clouds but take the shape of bhāmaṇḍalas: The border is plain (and not scalloped) and the plate is decorated with a leaf-circlet. No. 4 differs from the rest in so far as the figures are mainly shown from the front.

§ 61. The character of the group is determined by the principle of differentiating the images by the employment of different formulas. It is therefore not possible to derive one image from the other, not to speak of a genealogy comprising all the five images. If an endeavour were made to group the images for this purpose the following would result. No. 4 would have to be excluded from the outset because it is too different from the rest. Nos. 2, 3 and 6 could be grouped together on account of the treatment of the head (including ornaments etc) and of the armlets. But here No. 5 would have to be excluded. On the other hand Nos. 2 and 5 coincide in the treatment of the child, of the loop-chain, and of the posture (including the anatomy) of the main-figure. In this way two groups would be created (2-3-6 and 2-5) and these would overlap at "2". — However the unity of the group 2-3-6 is not only impaired by

the partial agreement between Nos. 2 and 5. Image No. 3 differs from 2 and 6 in so far as the body of the goddess is not rendered in a very happy way. The formula for the lion is also not the same as in the two other images. Conversely No. 6 differs from Nos. 2 and 3 on account of the clumsy rendering of the left arm of the goddess and by virtue of the worshipper on the face of the plinth. No. 2 differs from Nos. 3 and 6 not only in those points where it agrees with No. 5, but also with respect to the treatment of the cuffs and of the miniature-Jina. Let us now examine once more the pair 2-5. Ambikā No 2 differs (apart from the points of agreement with Nos. 3 and 6) from No. 5 *inter alia* on account of the posture of the child, of the shape of the bracelet, and of the missing pedestal-lotus. To all this must be added that, with respect to their size and their location in the garbhagṛha, Nos. 2 and 5 on the one hand and Nos. 3 and 4 on the other belong together.

Needless to say, nothing further will be gained from this type of investigation. We shall therefore restrict ourselves in future cases of this kind to mentioning "plus/minus-differences" and "form-differences" (§ 308) It is however not necessary to list these differences expressly in the case of our five Ambikās as the relevant data can easily be obtained from the description given above. See also § 98.

The attributes of the goddess are the usual ones (children, lion etc). We mentioned already that the pedestal-lotuses of Nos. 3, 5 and 6 are probably derived from the iconography of the Jina. The bunch of mangoes on the left arm of Ambikā No. 6 is unexpected. This is perhaps due to the fact that a slight mishap occurred when the left arm was carved The difference between large and small mangoes in the tree of No. 4 and the difference between plain (Nos. 2, 3, 4, 6) and adorned (No. 5) garlands in the hands of the flying genii concerns only iconography in its widest sense (§ 315). — Two earlier specimens of this iconographic type will be dealt with in the two following paragraphs.

§ 62 "Indrānī" in the veranda of Cave No 33 at Ellora (ZIMMER, Pl. 243). This Ambikā (in earlier literature erroneously identified as Indrāṇī) and her partner face each other. They are carved in the walls of the narrower sides of the cave's veranda[1]. For the context of the motif (Ambikā-and-her-partner) the reader is referred to Fig. 333. — The iconography of the veranda-Ambikā coincides but broadly with that of our five figures, but a comparison of the *trees* may be useful. As mentioned already, the treatment of the fruit is reminiscent of Deogarh Image No 4 (see Figs 386-87). Small animals (birds and monkeys) appear in the top of the tree — these are absent in the case of the Deogarh Ambikās. The other additional elements are detached from the top of the tree. This is true of the miniature-Jina which is very small (as in the case of Ambikā No 2) and which — following an old tradition (Bodhisattva-iconography) — is represented immediately above the head. This is also true of two pairs of large birds (peacocks) appearing in the upper left and right corners of the niche. In this way the surface assigned to the top of the tree is completely occupied by fruit and foliage and not interrupted by other elements, as is the case with the Deogarh Ambikās Nos. 3 and 4. The arch formed by the lower side of the tree-top which results in the case of the later images in a halo-like niche is not yet very pronounced here.

[1] The same figures flank the entrance of the garbhagṛha of the cave (ZIMMER, 244/46). The Ambikā at this entrance can however be disregarded as its type differs considerably from that of the Deogarh Ambikās.

§ 63. The Ambikā on the Gwalior Fort (Figs. 18-18 A). Ambikā and her Partner are represented side by side. The result is that both are reminiscent of Pāñcika and Hāriti. To my knowledge this is the only case of this kind (see again Fig. 333). The lion lies in a relaxed position below Ambikā. In the photo at least its body has the appearence of an inarticulate mass from which the sharply chiselled seat-lotus emerges. Above the head of the lion the seat on which the right leg of the goddess rests is indicated. The following are reminiscent of our Ambikā No. 5: upper hem of the dhotī, loop-chain, folds of the abdomen and of the neck, ear-rings, hair style, fillet placed well above the head, ornaments attached to the fillet, and treatment of the tree-top. Historically speaking, the goddess of Gwalior is almost exactly midway between the Ambikā at Ellora and the Ambikā No. 5 at Deogarh, which has preserved the stylistic tendencies of the earlier period better than Nos. 2, 3, 4 and 6. The lower side of the tree-top is already arched, but the flying genii — visible tokens of Ambikā's status as a member of the Jain pantheon — are not yet completely incorporated in the composition. They are treated as separate elements. In the case of the Gwalior image the tree-top becomes narrower at the centre above the head. This marks the beginning of the tendency to divide the tree-top into two bundles of foliage related in form to the double-leaf This development is most evident in the case of some later Ambikās (see Fig 120) This is but one of several features which show that the treatment of the Gwalior Ambikā is less realistic than the treatment of the "Indrāṇī" at Ellora (refer in this connection also to the stylization of the lion). — Dress and ornaments are rendered with extreme precision. These elements are however used but sparingly, and therefore the body comes into its own — The Gwalior Ambikā shows stylistic *and* iconographic relations with the seated goddesses on the outer walls of the old Jain temple at Gyaraspur (Mālādevī Temple). Further stylistic observations in § 64 A

§ 64. In style, our Ambikās can be linked with some earlier images We mention a Pārvatī in Cave No. 21 at Ellora (KRAMRISCH, *Art*, Appendix, Fig. 10[1]) and some goddesses from Kota which are now housed in the Gwalior Museum (*Gwalior Report* 1923/24, 4d) As compared with our Ambikās all these figures are more massive in form. Even then a number of features correspond. Above the waist the Pārvatī at Ellora is quite similar to our Ambikās Nos 2, 3 and 5. Again the goddess at Ellora shows almost exactly the same features as the Deogarh Ambikā No. 2. Like the two cāmara-bearers of the Large Śānti, the five Ambikās are reminiscent of the Gupta period without being particularly old. All these figures represent an idiom not as far removed from the Gupta style as the other varieties of the provincial style of that time.

§ 64A. As in the case of the cāmara-bearers we have to say a few words about these other varieties. We have already seen a contemporary idiom in the case of the Gwalior Ambikā (iconographic comparison in § 63). Two further examples follow.The first is a female bust from Gwalior Fort (ASHTON, 34 left). This bust corresponds to Ambikā No. 5 in a number of points (ear-rings, eyes, position of the fillet) but it does not bear any special resemblance to our group. Remarkable is the lavish decoration of the bust. The details are rendered realistically but show the metallic precision which is so often found in our period The foliate ornaments attached to the armlet are late in style. It matters little in this connection whether these were invented by the artist or reflect the art of the goldsmith. The idiom is similar to that of the Bodhisattva-torso from Sanchi (ROWLAND, *Art... of India*, 95). — Tārā in the Calcutta

[1] Included only in the second edition of the book (1955)

Museum (Fig. 19). In its iconography this image is closely related to the female attendant-figures of the large Bodhisattva in Cave No. 90 at Kanheri (stylization of the dupaṭṭā and so on). The modelling of dress and ornaments is soft. These elements are neither over-emphasized nor diminished but occupy their rightful place in the composition. The rendering of the forms is realistic, and stylization in its narrowest sense is hardly noticeable. Geographically this image originates further to the east but difference is only one of idiom and not of style.

IMAGES NOS. 8, 9, 9A, 10-12[1]

§ 65. Seated Buddha (Image No 8). Fig. 20. Wall-Section V, second image from the right. Post-Gupta. Buff sandstone. The face and the lower arms of the figure, and the edge of the parikara are severely damaged. Besides this the details of the image are completely obliterated. The impression is given that the piece has been lying in water for a considerable period. The numerous small holes in the surface are probably due to the fact that the stone contained materials which dissolved in the water. That the image shows the Buddha and not a Jina is established by four narrow ridges which run over the lower legs. They indicate the hems of the two garments of the Buddha (the outer ridges denoting the sanghāti, and the inner ridges the antaravāsaka). Compare the Gupta Buddha from Bodhgaya (ASHTON, Pl. 25). There the folded cloth below the calves is still visible but also diminished. — No inscription

The pedestal is meant to be viewed from all three sides. It is decorated with two pairs of corner-lions: Each pair has but one head and this appears at the corner. This motif recurs *inter alia* on the capitals of the Gupta temples at Tigawa and Sanchi. As in the case of all the earlier images the pedestal is low, and its face is not completely occupied by the lions. As these lion-motifs are shorter than in the following, i.e. in the early-medieval period (either by virtue of the anatomy of the animals or by virtue of their attitude), they do not occupy the whole panel but leave some space free in the middle. In our case, the vacant space in the middle is occupied by a dharmacakra (with ribbons), standing on a lotus-blossom and shown from the edge (see ZIMMER, 156). The pedestal is reminiscent of a Jina-image from Mathura (SMITH, 94) It is however difficult to find a specific parallel for the main-figure; for all the contemporary Buddha- and Jina-images resemble each other more or less (to a somewhat greater extent than in the following, i.e. in the early-medieval period), but normally the similarity is not great enough to suggest a special connection. — The right hand of the Deogarh Buddha probably performed the abhaya-mudrā while the left rested on the knee (formula of the Katra Buddha). The bhāmandala is divided into three zones separated by bands, either plain or in bead-form. The three zones are from the centre outwards: a leaf-frieze, similar to the one which appears in the centre of the bhāmaṇḍala of the Large Śānti; a row of rosettes (compare ZIMMER, 100), a scalloped border, similar to the one in Image No. 9 (see below). The missing or damaged parikara-parts (throneframe-animals etc.) probably looked similar to the corresponding parts of the Buddha from Sarnath.

§ 66. Post-Gupta Jina (Image No. 9). Fig. 21. Wall-Section XVI. The upper part of the back-wall and the heads of the cāmara-bearers have been extensively damaged. The greater part of the image is covered with lime which was washed away from the upper part of the wall by rain. The face of the main-figure is damaged but slightly. Light-red sandstone. No inscription.

[1] The six images (fragments) are not included in our system of styles and classes.

The pedestal is narrow and elongated. Its iconography differs from that of the pedestal of the seated Buddha: Lion-masks appear on its two ends and the centre is occupied by a dharmacakra flanked by two seated miniature-Jinas. The dharmacakra resembles that below the Buddha but the lotus-blossom is missing. In the case of the left miniature-Jina the upper arms are vertical and *parallel* to the sides of the chest. In the case of the right Jina they are *at an angle*. The pedestals of the Mankuwar Buddha (COOMARASWAMY, Fig. 162) and of a Rsabha-image from Mathura (SHAH, *Studies*, Fig. 27) follow similar formulas. But in the first case the dharmacakra is seen from the face, and *both* images have complete lions (seen from the front) instead of mere lion-masks. However a lion-mask is only an abbreviated rendering of a lion shown from the front After the Gupta period the lions shown from the front were normally replaced by lions shown from the side. — In contradistinction to our Buddha the Jina does not sit on the pedestal itself but on a lotus, the petals of which point upwards (compare the Jina above Ambikā No. 2, p. 80). The stalk belonging to the lotus-blossom is missing. The formula of the lotus-blossom recurs on a Jina-image in the Lakhnau Museum (*Berlin* KH 41 [1]) and on a seated Buddha in the British Museum (R. CHANDA, *Medieval Indian Sculpture in the Brit. Mus.*, Pl. 6)[1]. The body of the Jina appears "boneless" (compare the similar treatment of the calves in the case of the seated Buddha). The similarity with a contemporary seated Jina-image on a caumukha in the Mathura Museum is also remarkable and cannot be due to mere coincidence (Fig. 22). On both images the soles of the feet are represented in such a way that they face the viewer. — The bhāmandala of our image shows the leaf-circlet with squarish leaves that we are familiar with from the Large Śānti and the seated Buddha. The diameter is small. It resembles certain Akota bhāmandalas as regards size and decoration (SHAH, *Akota*, 62, 64, 66, and 69). As far as they are preserved, the cāmara-bearers are reminiscent of the corresponding figures in a Jina-image from Mathura belonging to the Gupta period (SHAH, *Studies*, 25). In that case the attitude, the modelling of the upper part of the body, the single necklace, the plain armlet, and the linga are quite similar. But in contradistinction to the Mathura Jina the scarfs are not depicted in a realistic way: they are divided up by vertical grooves and by horizontal cross-hatching between each pair of grooves.

§ 67 Of Image No. 9A only the head has been preserved (Fig. 26) It can be compared with a Gupta head which appears on p 49 of ROWLAND, *The Evolution of the Buddha Image*. The fragment is approximately 8″ in height The possibility that the head belonged to a Buddha image cannot be ruled out (as we do not know the condition of the site in those early days). But there is no evidence to support such an assumption.

Three later images (belonging to the early-medieval period) can be connected with Images Nos. 8 and 9 on account of the shape of their pedestals. Image No. 10 (Fig. 25) is only preserved as a fragment (crossed legs of a seated Jina on a pedestal), it belongs to Wall-Section II. The lions on the left and on the right sides of the pedestal are not depicted in full. The artist only showed the masks with the crossed front-legs underneath, but not the chest (compare *MASI* 55, Pl 47a: Paharpur) The centre of the pedestal is occupied by a dharmacakra provided with a single pair of vertical ribbons (formula of Images Nos. 8 and 9) It is flanked by Ambikā (to the left) and her partner (to the right). The two figures occupy the place assigned in the case of the post-Gupta Jina (No. 9) to two miniature-Jinas and in the case of the Mankuwar Buddha (COOMARASWAMY, Fig. 162) to two miniature-Buddhas.

[1] Here the lotus takes the shape of a "viśvapadma" with a second row of petals pointing downwards

The dharmacakra stands on a small plinth consisting of two tiers (compare ZIMMER, 102).

The seated Jina-image No. 11 (Fig. 24) also belongs to Wall-Section II. In this case, only the head of the main-figure is missing. Traces of lateral strands remaining on the shoulders reveal that the image represents the first Jina Rsabha. The pedestal carries a short inscription and follows the later formula; for the dharmacakra is placed directly on the foot-band, and it is furthermore flanked by two lions shown from the side and facing the viewer (Fig. 140 etc.). Moreover the dharmacakra-ribbons are doubled and they slant. Image No 11 is related to the earlier Images Nos. 9 and 10 only by virtue of the fact that a miniature-figure is represented to the left and to the right of the dharmacakra (Ambikā and her partner, as in Image No. 10, but with changed places). There is only one more instance at Deogarh where figures are represented between the dharmacakra and the lions (Fig. 137). Two other rare features of our image are the representation of festoons etc. below the band marking the upper edge of the pedestal and the treatment of the double-leaf. — In Nos. 8, 9 and 10, 11 the throne-top is still incomplete as compared with the later images. We meet two motifs at the most, i.e. a plain band with cushion or lotus, or with nothing upon it.

Image No. 12 (Fig. 27) is a caturvimśatipatta It originally consisted of six rows of seated miniature-Jinas (one row above the other, four Jinas in each row). The four top-most rows and the upper edge of the second row from bottom are all that has come down to us. The slab stands in the hall in front of Temple No. 12. Each of the sixteen remaining Jinas has a comparatively rich parikara. Above the pedestals the miniature images are practically identical, but the elements on the pedestal (two lions, flanking a dharmacakra or a lotus) follow different formulas which are employed without any system. In fifteen cases out of sixteen the lions are shown from the side (early-medieval formula), but in one case they are shown from the front (bottom right of the fragment) and here the representation of the two animals follows the old formula (compare Image No 10). The motif in the centre appears in four different forms. In *six* cases a halved lotus-blossom is represented below the band marking the upper edge of the pedestal (this half-blossom is similar to the pedestal-lotus of the standing images); three chains or ribbons are suspended from the blossom In *one* case a complete lotus-blossom is shown which, like a dharmacakra, stands on a small pedestal In *seven* cases we have a dharmacakra with pedestal, and in *two* cases a dharmacakra without pedestal. The two lotus-formulas have not been met with previously The complete blossom can be regarded as a substitute for the *dharmacakra shown from the face* (compare the medieval specimen at Budhi Chanderi shown in Fig. 383). A parallel to the halved blossom is found at Akota (SHAH, *Akota*, 58, 60, 61). There, however, the three chains or ribbons are missing, and the halved blossoms lie on a carpet. The chains are reminiscent of the three chains suspended from the mouth of a kīrtimukha (see Fig. 240)

It is exceptional that so many different formulas for one and the same motif are found on the same piece (two lion-formulas, two dharmacakra-formulas, and two lotus-formulas). Our slab is therefore an excellent example of partial differentiation (§ 304). Besides, the caturvimśatipatta is an example of what we call "pseudo-differentiation in rows" (§ 294 end).

TWO RICH IMAGES (Nos. 13 and 14)[1]

§ 68. Main idol of Temple No. 15 (Image No. 13). Figs. 23 and 28-31. The image belongs to

[1] Nos 13 and 14 belong to the Throne-Frame Class.

the Throne-Frame Class of the Drum-Leaf Style (§ 147). It covers the entire rear-wall of the garbhagṛha of Temple No 15 and is framed at the sides by two pilasters (Fig. 28). The image is 5'6" wide and 9' high. It reaches up to the ceiling. The main-figure is a seated Jina 3'4" high. As there is no cihna nor any other clue we cannot identify the Jina. From the point of view of *composition*, the image falls into three horizontal zones, the intermediate one reaching from the cushion below to the drummer above. Again we can distinguish between five vertical zones, a wider zone in the centre and two narrower zones at the sides. The vertical division is more pronounced in the "intermediate horizontal zone" than above or below it From the point of view of *construction* we have to distinguish between at least *five* different pieces: the two horizontal zones above and below, the central portion of the intermediate horizontal zone, and the lateral portions (pilasters and throneframe-animals) of the intermediate horizontal zone. The image consists of light fine-grained sandstone. It is in an excellent state of preservation. Slight damage to the head (nose, mouth, left ear) has been made good. Otherwise no damage has taken place, except to the figures on the backs of the large elephants (in the central field), to the drummer, and to the garland-bearing couples. There is no inscription on the image.

§ 69. The *throne* consists of a bar (with knobs on both ends), a blanket, a cushion, a second blanket (with a kind of seat-lotus carved on it), a dharmacakra (obviously only provided with a single pair of ribbons running upwards), and of two lions following the usual formula. It would appear that this treatment of the throne is in its main features typical of Northern India and originated in the post-Gupta period (see Fig. 22 and SMITH, Pl 90, Fig. 3; Pl. 94) None of the parallels quoted show all the sub-motifs of the throne found in our image. But they also do not show any features which are not contained in Image No. 13. Consisting as it does of five sub-motifs the throne-top of Image No. 13 is almost overloaded. — The upper throne-blanket lying on the cushion is without parallel. The rosette (reminiscent of the seat-lotus) is similar to the halved rosette on the blanket of some Jina-images from Akota (SHAH, *Akota*, Pl. 58, 60 f.). The lower throne-blanket is decorated with leaf-circlet, bead-border etc. and does not show any special features. But on the upper blanket and on the cushion very delicate floral motifs can be observed which are in form and technique reminiscent of the decorations on the bhāmaṇḍala (twigs and flowers). The representation is possibly inspired by contemporary cloth patterns. The rosette referred to above is also carved in this way. — *Ambikā and her Partner*. The iconography resembles that of the Akota Jinas (SHAH, *Akota*, 22 etc.) There are however some minor differences. The money-bag in the left hand of the partner can be easily recognized as such, the figures have exchanged places, and a double-leaf is shown above each The vāhanas (lion and elephant) which are shown at Ellora (ZIMMER, 242-243, 244) and in the case of some Western Indian bronzes (SHAH, *Akota*, 49 etc) are missing It would appear that the elephant was portrayed nowhere in Central India. Whether the same applies to Ambikā (i.e. to the Ambikā who is represented along with the partner) is hard to say. Strangely enough in the Jina-images of Central India known to me, Ambikā is never depicted along with the lion, though the animal is almost invariably present in the independent Ambikā-images found in this region. To sum up, the iconography is as follows: On the left, Ambikā (bunch of mangoes/child, double-leaf), on the right, the partner (fruit/money-bag, double-leaf). Both figures are seated on cushions. The closest iconographic parallel is supplied by a bronze image from Chahardi (SHAH, *Akota*, 7). In the case of the partner of Image No. 13 the strand-circle is unexpected. It was taken over from the icono-

graphy of the god Kubera who is similar in appearance. Compare the two Kubera-images in the Gwalior Museum: Kubera from Tumain (*Gwalior* 1759) and Kubera from Badoh (*Gwalior* 1762). — A *tritīrthikā* is shown above each of the two figures described. In both panels the seated Jina is provided with a double-leaf. The hair of the six miniature-figures consists of parallel strands, not of curls as in the case of the main-figure. It seems that tritīrthikās came into use in the early-medieval period. They are quite common in Western Indian bronzes. — The *architectural frame* consists of two pillar-compositions crowned by miniature-śikharas. An arch-like garland connects the two śikharas so that the frame takes on the appearance of a gate (torana-image). The garland emerges from the mouths of two makara-protomai attached to the bases of the śikharas on their inner sides. For an earlier and more realistic rendering of this motif refer to ZIMMER, 219 (= COOMARASWAMY, *Yakṣas* II, 22). The decorative use of the śikharas is derived from door-frames where they may well crown the door-jambs. The reader is referred to the Caturbhuja-temple at Gwalior (samvat 932) where the śikharas of the door-frame show a similar design (Fig. 382). The cāmara-bearers are carved on the two lateral panels and thereby resemble the figures appearing on the pilasters which frame the door-jambs in the case of certain temples (temple at Kuchdon, p. 30). A very remote parallel to the architectural frame as a whole is furnished by a bronze from Vasantgarh (*Lalit Kalā* 1/2, Pl. 16 left). Stylistically the pillars are midway between those of Temple No. 12 and the pillars on the outer walls of the Śiva-temple at Terahi. For the palmyra-capital (appearing only on the right pillar-composition) compare Figs. 317-19, 322-23. As could be expected, the capital represents the same stage in the development of the motif as the specimen from the same temple depicted in Fig. 319. In the case of the left pillar-composition the two top-most members (just below the śikhara) are plain. Obviously they are not original. — The *cāmara-bearers* are comparatively small (the other extreme is found e.g at Sirpur, see DIKSHIT, 52-53) In a number of iconographic details the cāmara-bearers resemble the attendant-figures of the Large Śānti. The features and hand-attributes differ however. One hand holds a cāmara pointing downwards, while the other is placed against the thigh (thigh-posture). The posture of the bodies is symmetrical as in the case of the Large Śānti, but the hands and attributes are identical (cāmara to the left/thigh-posture to the right). — *Four throneframe-animals* In contradistinction to the standard-formula (found in the case of the Large Śānti etc.) a lion-protome is intercalated between the elephant and the vyāla. In the case of Image No. 147 (Fig. 141) which also belongs to the Throne-Frame Class (placed against the right-hand wall of the porch, Temple No 15) a complete lion takes the place of the protome. But there the elephant (or elephant-protome) is missing so that we have only three throneframe-animals as usual. Floral motifs as they appear on the chest and on the tail of the vyāla can be traced back to the Gupta period (ZIMMER, 102: Buddha from Sarnath) The vyālas resemble those of the Large Śānti, but they are "tenser" and more stylized, thereby heralding the approaching medieval period. — The *main-figure*. Every visitor is struck by its similarity with the Buddha from Sarnath. There are of course a number of major and minor differences between the Jina and the Buddha. Apart from the fact that the Jina is undressed and the Buddha dressed we mention only the postures of the hands, the treatment of the eyes, and the treatment of the uṣṇīṣa. Nevertheless there is enough agreement to suggest some direct connection. As in the case of the Large Śānti, no attributes etc. are attached to the body (§ 52). — The formula of the *bhāmandala* is otherwise unknown in Central India: It consists mainly of a large circle of flames bordered on its inner side by beads. This treatment is well-known from Eastern Indian art (BANERJI, Pl. 69b; BANERJEA, Pl. 46,4). The inner surface of the bhāmaṇḍala is cross-hatched and decorated with

nine floral motifs (buds and blossoms which are arranged in a circle). Compare the upper throne-blanket and the cushion. — The three *parasol-tops* have the following decoration (from top to bottom): leaf-frieze with broad petals, cross-hatching, leaf-circlet with narrow petals. Probably there is some connection with the decoration of the parasol-tops of the Large Śānti. — The *drummer* is shown from the front (as in the case of the Large Śānti) but only in the form of a protome. The face has been cut off. — *Double-leaf.* On either side of the drummer five leaves are depicted They are similar to the leaves of the Large Śānti, but the "knot" at the upper end of the stalk is reduced still farther (compare the palmyra-motif on the corbel of the right-hand pillar-composition of our image, where the knot has become quite faint). The arrangement of the leaves is more vivid and less stereotyped than in the case of the Large Śānti. — *Garland-bearing couples.* The male figures on the inner side carry garlands in both hands. The female figures on the outer side carry baskets (meant for flowers). The basket has been broken off in the case of the right-hand figure. The left-hand female places her left hand on the shoulder of the male. The attitudes of these elegant figures are more or less conventional, but cannot be described with any degree of accuracy on account of the bad state of preservation. Two ornaments deserve special notice. In the left ear of the right-hand female figure there appears a peg This recurs e.g. in a Pārvatī from Bhanpur (post-Gupta image showing Śiva and Pārvatī; *Bhopal,* 121/53-54) Furthermore the two right-hand figures wear on their left arms armlets which consist of rings with a large jewel. This type of armlet is also worn by a Śiva from Malaheda (Śiva-Pārvatī-image of the Gupta period, *Bhopal,* 118/54). The back-plates of the two couples have scalloped borders and can therefore clearly be recognized as clouds. The two garland-bearing couples are very spirited and can be counted amongst the finest parts of the composition. The relief is remarkably high, which is also the case with the elephants immediately above the couples. — These *large elephants* resemble those of the Large Śānti (§ 57, Panel no. 19) and in particular those of the fragmentary Image No. 14. The elephants of Images Nos. 13 and 14 are noteworthy for the careful rendering of the saddles, saddle girths (and necklaces — these are however not found in the case of No. 14). In contra-distinction to certain later images the elephants of Nos 1, 13, and 14 do not hold pitchers in their trunks. In the case of Image No. 13 the riders (three on each animal) have been destroyed almost completely (refer also to §72). — [As far as they appear within the arch-like garland, the elements to be described below form the second parikara-top (compare § 57, Panels 17, 20, 21) There is some similarity between the lower and the upper parikara-tops but this is not very pronounced.] — The *single garland-bearers* The distortion of the bodies is remarkable even by the standards of contemporary art. It must however be born in mind that the twist of the bodies is partly due to the particular "perspective" employed by the artist. Both figures carry together one garland, a feature which recurs at Deogarh only in the case of the medieval Jina-image No. 242 (Fig. 204). — A *miniature-Jina* (seated on a viśvapadma) is placed in the inverted arch formed by the garland which is carried by the two single garland-bearers It is exceptional in contemporary and earlier art to find a miniature-Jina above a Jina or a miniature-Buddha above a Buddha One such instance is met with in Cave No. 3 at Kanheri. Here a tiny miniature-Buddha is represented over the colossal standing Buddha-image on the left side of the veranda (FRÉDÉRIC, *L'Inde,* Pl 135). — The *pairs of hovering genii* (without garland) correspond to the garland-bearing couples below. The difference regarding the hands is noticeable. Here the male figures appearing on the inner sides fold their hands. The female figures (on the outer sides) hold their dupaṭṭās "fluttering in the wind" (compare § 57, Panel no. 15). The attitude of the women follows the Badami-formula while the legs of the men are outstretched;

normally, in the case of a male genius one leg is bent. See Fig. 313. — The *small elephants* immediately above the two couples are shown from the side, but their heads are turned towards the viewer. [End of the description of the upper parikara-top.] — *Elephants on triple lotuses* appear in the angles formed by the large garland and the miniature-śikharas These elephants carry three riders and have no pitchers in their trunks (compare the elephants of the lower parikara-top). It is not uncommon that figures depicted in the parikara-top or immediately below it sit or stand on lotus-blossoms the stalks of which extend down to the foot of the image. The abhiseka-elephants which stand on lotus-blossoms and which pour water over the main-figure are the best known examples. A fairly close parallel to our motif is furnished by a Śiva-Pārvatī image from Padhavli (Fig. 381). On the left side of the Deogarh image there appears a triple lotus carrying an elephant with a *single* rider (probably Indra on Airāvata). — *Figures on the outer sides of the miniature-śikharas.* To the left and to the right there appears a female figure standing on a corbel projecting from the image at the height of the foot of the śikhara. The woman on the left grasps the end of the dupattā with her right hand, while the left hand holds a mirror. The raised right hand of the woman on the right apparently supports a lotus, and she holds a cāmara in her left hand (pointing downwards).

§ 70. As in the case of the cāmara-bearers of Image No 1 and of the Ambikās Nos. 2-6 we shall now examine images which are similar in their iconographic type but differ in respect of idiom. They are however simpler, as images showing the same degree of complexity as No. 13 are rare in contemporary art

Jina-image from Gwalior Fort (now in the Gwalior Museum) Fig. 32. As is the case with Image No 13 (and No. 1) no attributes etc. are attached to the body of the Jina. Both images have miniature-śikharas on lateral pilasters and both show single garland-bearers (carrying together one garland) and garland-bearing couples But instead of Ambikā and her partner there appear individual attendants to the left and to the right of the throne, on the pilasters the Navagrahas are represented, and the upper part of the image takes the shape of the normal parikara-top. Though somewhat less complex the Gwalior image can also be called a "luxuriant" composition. But in contradistinction to Image No. 13, where the elements are arranged on a grand scale, the artist of the Gwalior image made no attempt to avoid the impression of a horror vacui Moreover the architectural element is more pronounced and the details are often reduced to incised lines (e.g in the case of the mukutas and of the garland). The artist has produced everywhere sharp edges and patterns rendered with metallic precision. As in the case of many other contemporary images the garments and the flesh of the bodies do not come into their own

Jina from Kaushambi (now in the Allahabad Museum). Fig. 33. The heads of the main-figure and of the cāmara-bearers have been cut off, and minor damage has been done to other parts of the composition. On the other hand the smooth surface has been well preserved in the case of those sections which are still intact The crescent-cihna (hardly to be recognized in Fig. 33) appears on the central petal of the seat-lotus, showing that the Jina represented is Candraprabha (8th Jina). As in the case of Image No. 13, Ambikā and her partner are depicted to the left and to the right of the throne. The execution is careful but the number of elements shown is not above average. In contradistinction to the Gwalior image the accent is on the bodies rather than on the decorative and architectural elements. Likewise it is the soft elements and not the hard ones which predominate here. The slim, effeminate bodies of the cāmara-bearers deserve special attention. The anatomical type can be traced back to the Gupta period

(MARSHALL/FOUCHER, *Sāñchi*, Vol. II, Pl. 70: northern and western Buddha of Stūpa No. 1). The shoulders are however broader in the case of the cāmara-bearers at Sanchi. The image from Kaushambi and the Image No. 13 have little in common; but in both cases the surface is smooth and the horror vacui is avoided.

§ 71. The composition of Image No. 13 is not additive (as that of No. 1) but all its parts are fused into a whole. This is seen for example in the unbroken horizontal and vertical divisions. Thus the pilasters are continued by the miniature-śikharas above and by the tritīrthikās below (only the panels with Ambikā and her partner project outwards). Similarly we find that the elements of the two parikara-tops are arranged in layers placed one above the other. Compositional principles of this kind are normal in the medieval period but rarely anticipated in the early-medieval period. In the case of the Large Śānti all the dividing lines were broken. — As observed already, the *horror vacui* is absent or moderate. Note in particular that the main-figure is not jammed between the minor figures but placed against the background of a comparatively large plain surface. Thereby the parikara becomes a true frame which is not fused with the actual image. The relief of the composition is high and the throneframe-animals are even modelled in the round. On the one hand the figures stand out from the back-wall, and on the other they do not appear to be firmly attached to their bases: neither do they rest with their full weight on their respective supports, nor are the supports themselves particularly solid. The impression of weight is also relieved by undercutting (for the opposite tendency see SHAH, *Akota*, 40 and 60). The taper of the upper parikara-top (*in* the arch) and the inward slant of the figures in the upper part of the image add to the upwards sweep of the composition The inward slant is already found in Gandhara (MARSHALL, *Buddhist Art of Gandhāra*, 1960, Pl. 83) and continues right up into the medieval period (ZIMMER, 197 and 387) The slant does however not *denote* an upward movement but results from the fact that the minor figures are turned in adoration towards the main-figure.

As in the case of other early-medieval images the different parts of the composition are not uniform as regards quality. The lions are executed in a cursory fashion, and the decoration on the lower blanket is much less delicate than that on the cushion and the upper blanket. — The rendering of the double-leaves and of the palmyra-design (above the right pillar) suggest that Image No. 13 is somewhat later than the Large Śānti.

§ 72. Isolated parikara-top (Image No. 14). Figs. 34-35. The fragment stands near the Shrine No. 12 F. Other parts of the image could not be traced That the fragment belonged to a Jina-image (and not to a Buddha-image) can be seen from the iconography. In all probability the image was seated. The piece bears no inscription; as a matter of fact it would be surprising to find an inscription on this part of the image. The parikara-top is tolerably well preserved. It consists of blackish sandstone. A photo reproduced by Stella Kramrisch (*Hindu Temple*, 55) shows the upper part of the middle section

The miniature-śikharas appearing on the left and right sides of the fragment show that the architectural frame of the image was similar to that of Image No. 13 and of the Gwalior Jina. The parasol-tops are smaller than those of the preceding image. The attitude of the drummer which is depicted as a complete figure can best be seen in the photo published by Stella Kramrisch. The shape of the double-leaf appearing at the height of the drummer's hands is about the same as in Image No. 13. The upper part of the space between the parasols etc. on the one hand and the two miniature-śikharas on the other is occupied by two elephants, each

carrying three riders (compare Images Nos. 1 and 13). The riders are fairly well preserved. The *central* rider holds in both cases a staff-like object in one hand (i.e. in the hand turned towards the viewer). This is probably an echo of the Indra-on-Airāvata-motif, the staff standing for Indra's thunderbolt. Below each elephant's trunk there appear two geese carrying together a garland in their beaks. On the right side this motif has been extensively damaged. The geese-motif is occasionally met with in Central India on lower door-jambs (Fig. 13, geese with garland above the male figure to the left). Its employment in the parikara-top is however unconventional. The space below the elephants is occupied by garland-bearing couples. The couple on the left differs from that on the right. This is an unexpected violation of the symmetry normally observed in this part of the composition. As usual the male figures appear on the inner sides. They are in this case much larger than the female ones. Each male figure holds a garland in its hands (on the right side the garland has disappeared) The attitude of the right-hand figure is reminiscent of the attitude of a garland-bearer on a partially preserved parikara-top from Mathura[1]. The left-hand figure with its raised buttocks borders on the grotesque. The hair of both figures takes the shape of a strand-circle, and this feature recurs in the case of the left-hand garland-bearer (the only one extant) of the Berlin fragment. The attitude of the female figures (the one on the right being damaged) cannot be described with any degree of certainty. The leaf-frieze and bead-border along the upper edge of the parikara must belong to the bhāmaṇḍala (in certain cases the upper segment of the bhāmaṇḍala is isolated from the rest, see e.g. Fig. 84). The design is reminiscent of that of the bhāmaṇḍala of the Berlin fragment — The Images Nos. 13 and 14 as well as the Berlin fragment are more or less contemporary (middle of the ninth century *A.D.*).

THE DOUBLE-SNAKE GROUP (Nos 15-21)

§ 73. The group is comprised of seven colossal standing Jinas consisting of pale sandstone. They are arranged in the pradaksinapatha of Temple No. 12 along the western outer walls of the garbhagrha (see Fig. 393). Some of the images reach to the ceiling The group belongs to the Fair Class (§§ 109 foll) Like the other images of this class the members of our group have been reproduced *without exception* (either in full or in part). See Figs. 36-44. In the main, damage has occurred to the mouths, noses, and hood-circles of the main-figures. The cihnas are not only missing (as everywhere at Deogarh) in the case of the *Pārśvas* (Nos. 15, 17, 18, 19, 21) but also in the case of the two non-Pārśvas (Nos. 16 and 20). Image No. 20 has strands (and lateral strands), whereas all the other images are provided with curls. All the images have inscriptions on the pedestals (Fig. 45) but the inscription of No. 20 consists only of three illegible aksaras All the images are monolithic. The height is as follows: 7′6″ (No. 15), 9′11″ (No. 16), 10′2″ (No. 17), 7′11″ (No. 18), 10′7″ (No 19), 7′5″ (No. 20), 8′4″ (No. 21).

§ 74. We shall deal with the inscriptions first. The text given below reproduces the original as faithfully as possible. Damaged akṣaras are put in round brackets. In many cases an aksara is well preserved and carefully incised but difficult to read because its form deviates from the norm. In this case too we use round brackets (if necessary with the observation "well preserved but difficult to read"). The square brackets have been used where broken or oblit-

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[1] It formerly formed part of the Berlin collection but has now disappeared See H HARTEL, *Indische Skulpturen*, I, Berlin 1960, Pl. 24.

erated akṣaras were supplied on account of the context (brackets were used in the main according to K. L. Janert's editions). Corrections of the actual text as found on the stone have been added wherever necessary (after the text) Aksaras which could not be restored have been indicated by hyphens. A hyphen is also used where only the consonant of the aksara is illegible but then the following vowel is placed immediately after it. In the case of gaps occurring in *verses* we have indicated whether the missing syllables are long or short. The symbol which resembles the figure "9" in the Nāgarī-script (and which introduces many inscriptions) has been rendered by the word "*siddham*" which is not translated into English. If an inscription consists only of names with or without *pranamati — bows before (the Jina)* — or if it is confused (or incomplete) no translation is given.

§ 75. Inscriptions on Image No. 15

Line 1 Bhūdā-putrasya Dā (lha)sya Jina-śāsana-(bh)āvitasya Nāgendra-
2 gotra (this is followed by about 12 aksaras, most of them illegible)
3 yaṃ (belongs perhaps to the second line)

Between *go-* and *-tra* there appears a right angle identical with the top and right-hand side of a square. Compare for line 1 the names Bhūdā, Dāhala (or Dāhāla) mentioned in the Index of Mirashi.

1 śrī-Mādhavadeva

Inscription on Image No. 16.

1 siddham śrī-Mādhavadevācāryasya
2 śisyānām vi - dhākaro
3 t ti - - - - - - - - -
4 - - ti staṃbha -
5 - -

Inscription on Image No. 17 (Fig. 45 top)

1 siddham bhadra(ṃ) bhūyāj Jin(e)ndrānā(m) śāsanāya mahaujas(e) | kuvādi-matta-mātaṃga-paksa-kumbha-vi-
2 bhedine || śrīmān Mādhavadevākhya ācāryah prathito bhūvi | mokṣa-mārgopadeśena bhavyā-
3 (s te)na prabodhitāh || Dhannāna-vānijo (?) nāmnā śiṣyas tasya guror matah | dharmmiko dāna-vi-
4 khyāto bhakto so guru-pūjane || tasya pūtrāv ajā(ye)tāṃ Prāg(v)āta-k(u)la-bhūsano || Gaṃ-
5 gākaś Śivadeva(ś ca pra)siddhau dharmma-tad-gatau || Jina-[bimbam idaṃ] - - bhrātṛ-
6 bhyām kāritaṃ śubhaṃ (this is followed by a few aksaras which could not be read).

The "*e*" of *śe* in line 2 is written in the pṛsthamātrā way. In line 4 an aksara added subsequently below the line has been read as the *ye* of *ajāyetām*. To the lower left of the inscribed surface a small crack runs over line 5. The greater part of line 6 is missing because the lower edge of the pedestal is damaged. — Read *bhūvi* (line 2), *pūtrau* (line 4, the spelling *pūtra* with "*ū*" recurs in the unpublished inscription 16, 13a), and *bhūṣaṇau* (line 4). The mis-spelling *dharmmika* (instead of dhārmika) is fairly common (Monier-Williams s.v.)

"siddham. Salutation to the powerful doctrine of the Jinas which splits the foreheads[1] (arguments) of the ruttish elephants (heretics). The ācārya Mādhavadeva was famous on earth. He enlightened the bhavya souls[2] by expounding the path to liberation. He had a disciple called Dhannāna, a merchant (?) who was a pious man well known for his liberality and devoted to his guru. Dh had two sons, Gaṅgāka and Śivadeva, ornaments of the Prāgvāta-clan (see § 76), well known and most pious. They caused this fine Jina-image to be made..."

INSCRIPTIONS ON IMAGE NO. 18.

1 bhadra (m bh)ūyāj Jinendr(ānām) śāsanāya mahau-
2 jase | kuvādi-matta-mātamga-paksa-kumbha-vibhedine
3 śrīmān (Na) - - nandy-ākhya ācārya prathito bhuvi |

After the (*Na*) of line 3 there is a hole in the stone which the inscription avoided. Except for the name in line 3 which is only preserved in part this inscription is identical with the first one and a half ślokas of the previous one.

Line 1 siddham Suka-putra Jīseka Thāuka Dehatena
2 Jina-bimba kāritam śubhaṃ || tha

The symbol rendered by *siddham* takes the shape of an "*i*" (BUHLER, Tafeln, V 3 IV etc.). The reading *Thāuka* in the first line is open to doubt, what we expect is a kinship-term, but this is not borne out by the text One or two aksaras added subsequently seem to appear below the word *Thāuka*

INSCRIPTION ON IMAGE NO. 19

1 siddham śrī- - - - - - - - - - -
2 - - - - - - - - -

All the akṣaras are well-preserved but illegible It would appear that akṣaras 1, 8 and 9 in the second line were added subsequently.

INSCRIPTION ON IMAGE NO. 20

1 - - - (well-preserved but illegible)

INSCRIPTION ON IMAGE NO. 21 (Fig. 45 bottom)

1 Ettābha-putra(sya) Gana-
2 deva(sya) pratimeya(m) ||

"This is the image of Gaṇadeva, the son of Ettābha" (i.e. this is the image caused to be made by G.). Three aksaras after the word *Gana-* in the first line have been obliterated (obviously by the sculptor himself). In both lines the akṣara *sya* looks like *yo*. The form of the akṣara *tra* in the first line is unconventional (compare line 4 of the inscription on Image No. 17, the second inscription of Image No 18, and the unpublished inscription of Image No. 74): The abbreviated "*r*" is placed below the complete letter "*t*".

[1] literally: frontal globes on the foreheads.
[2] i.e. the souls destined for liberation.

§ 76. The first inscription on Image No. 18 is identical with the beginning of the inscription on Image No. 17. The inscriptions on the Images Nos. 15, 16, and 17 have the name Mādhavadeva in common. Except for the inscription on Image No. 15, Mādhavadeva has been given the title ācārya. A further ācārya is mentioned in the first inscription on Image No. 18, but there only the second part of the name (-nandi) has been preserved. It is unlikely that the names of the monks who consecrated the images were omitted in more or less detailed inscriptions as they appear on Images Nos. 15, 16, 17 and 18. We may therefore safely assume that Mādhavadeva and -nandi were the two ācāryas who consecrated the Images Nos. 15-18, perhaps the whole group 15-21. The inscription on Image No. 17 indicates a connection between the donor and the consecrating monk. Mādhavadeva was the spiritual teacher of the father of the two donors.

Gaṇadeva (No. 21) is at least in this context a secular name. A donor called Ganadeva occurs in inscription no. 24 of Vinayasagaras collection (p. 4). The Prāgvāṭa caste is called "kula" (our inscription on Image No. 17, line 4), "vaṃśa" (VINAYASAGARA, no. 29, p. 5: "śrī-Prāgvāṭa-vaṃśīya"), "jñāti" (VINAYASAGARA, no. 95, p. 15: "Prāgvāṭa-jñātīya"). Johrapurkar has discussed the connections of castes like Prāgvāta (Parvāl, Porvāl), Humbada etc with the various orders of the Digambaras (p. 12 f.). — The Nāgendra-gotra of No. 15 has of course nothing to do with the Nāgendra-gaccha of the Śvetāmbara Church (compare GUÉRINOT, p. 61 etc.). The second inscription on Image No. 18 contains obviously the donors' names, which would have appeared at the end of the first inscription on the same image if this had been completed on the model of the inscription on Image No. 17. Why the inscription remained incomplete is not at all clear

§ 77. In many early-medieval inscriptions at Deogarh one and the same letter is rendered in different forms (cf. A. H. DANI, passim) Often earlier and later forms (proto-Nāgarī and Nāgarī) are found side by side. We shall deal with this phenomenon in a purely descriptive way, mentioning only cases where the lack of uniformity is particularly conspicuous. The question whether divergent forms are contemporaneous or of different age and whether certain doublets are conventional or invented by the sculptor is here only of secondary importance.

The second inscription of Image No. 18 (no photo) has three varieties of the "*k*": one angular, the loop approaching the form of a triangle (BÜHLER, Tafeln, IV 7 XXII), one angular where the loop is rounded at the top forming an acute angle at the bottom (BUHLER, Tafeln, IV 7 XXIII); and finally a form which is identical with a particular rendering of the "*n*" as found in this inscription and elsewhere (BUHLER, Tafeln, V 10 X; in our inscription the *na* of *Dehaṭena*). In No. 17 (Fig. 45 top) the *na* of *tena* in line 3 resembles the "*t*" of *prabodhitāh* in the same line, whereas the "*n*" of *dāna* (again line 3) resembles the "*k*" of *kāritaṃ* (line 6). The *di* of *kuvādi* in the same inscription (line 1) resembles a cerebral *ḍi*, and the *dā* of *dāna* (ibid. line 3) is assimilated to the angular *yā*. In the case of conjuncts the lack of uniformity is still more pronounced. Compare the different treatment of the "*s*" in No. 17, line 3 (*tasya*), No 17, line 4 (*tasya*), and No. 21 (*putrasya*, *devasya*).

The letter proper may or may not touch the top-mātrā. The *ta* of *tasya* in Inscription No. 17 (line 4) consists of a shorter and a longer vertical stroke coming from the top-mātrā. But the "*t*" of *prabodhitāh* in the preceding line consists of an arch which is separated from the top-mātrā. In the fifth line of this inscription the loop of the *ka* in *Gaṃgākaś* touches the top-mātrā whereas the loop of the *kā* in *kāritaṃ* in the following line is placed much further down. The loop of the *na* in *Dhannāna* (line 3) comes down directly from the top-mātrā. In the case

of the *ne* in *pūjane* in line 4 the loop is also raised but the top-mātrā is missing. On the other hand the *na* in *upadeśena* in line 2 is placed far below the top-mātrā.

The difference in the general features is best demonstrated by a comparison of the two inscriptions Nos. 17 and 21 (see Fig. 45 for both). In the case of Inscription No. 17 (which is comparatively late in appearance) almost all the akṣaras are provided with a top-mātrā ("Nāgarī"), whereas in No. 21 all the akṣaras (except for the *sya* in *Ganadevasya*) are provided with nail-heads and may be open at the top as is seen in the case of the letters "*m*" and "*y*" ("Proto-Nāgarī"). In the case of inscription No. 21 nail-heads or comparable forms are not only found on the top of the principal vertical stroke but also at other points (loop of the *ga*, first vertical stroke of the *na* and so on). In contrast to this the thickness of the line is quite uniform in Inscription No. 17. Finally, angular forms are less frequent in No 17 than in No. 21: compare the plump *ya* in *ācārya* (No. 17, line 2) with the angular forms of the *ya* in *putrasya* and *pratimeyam* (No 21, lines 1 and 2).

We conclude this paragraph with some observations on the inscriptions on the śikhara-niches on the outer walls of Temple No. 12 (compare the transliteration in the following chapter and Fig. 47). Here, too, the form of the letters is not uniform and the stage in the development of the script appears to be the same as in the case of the Double-Snake Group. Therefore the assumption that the Images 15-21 are as old as Temple No. 12 is not at variance with the epigraphic evidence (the inscriptions on the niches may be slightly later than the *temple*, but in this connection such an interval would be of little importance). With inscription No. 17 we can compare the flowing characters of the inscriptions giving the names *Surakṣitā* (śikhara-niche no. 15) and *Vimala* (śikhara-niche no. 17) On the other hand, our Inscription No. 21 is related to the inscription *Tārādevī* (śikhara niche no. 12). Nail-heads are found in the niche-inscriptions but rarely; refer to the *kṣi* in *Surakṣitā* (śikhara-niche no. 15). On this point the inscription *Tārādevī* also differs from our Inscription No 21 while the individual letters "*d*" and "*v*" are similar in both cases (*devasya* -- *devī*) In the inscription *Tārādevī* the stroke indicating the long "*ā*" extends in both cases above the top-mātrā (compare BÜHLER, Tafeln, IV 25 XX). The inscription *Varddhamānasya* (śikhara-niche no. 6) is probably the earliest specimen of pure Nāgarī at Deogarh. The inscription *Aparājitā* (also śikhara-niche no. 6) shows a different style of writing, and whereas the "*m*" of *Varddhamānasya* is closed, the "*p*" of *Aparājitā*, which may be compared, is open. If we compare the two series with the inscription of samvat 919 we find no evidence which would suggest that the two series are earlier than the latter. The reader is referred in this connection to Fig. 46. The section of the samvat 919 inscription reproduced by us extends from lines 2-6 and contains in line 2 the word *varddhamāna* which is also found on śikhara-niche no. 6.

With certain reservations it can be said that the Images Nos. 15-21 and certain groups within the series of niche-figures show a stylistic idiom of their own (§ 93). The same is not true of the palaeography Here very many different hands were at work and most letters could be rendered according to more than one formula. It is also not possible to correlate stylistic, epigraphical, and palaeographical relations as they occur in one and the same series. For example the first inscription of Image No. 18 simply repeats part of the inscription of Image No. 17, but these two images are not related in style or script.

§ 78. Our seven images belong to the so-called Fair Class of the Drum-Style (compare § 109). It is quite possible that many more colossal Jina-images of the early-medieval period have come down to us than are known from publications. But a series of such images is

certainly unusual. At Deogarh there are no less than three sets of colossal Jina-images, besides the Double-Snake Group (as we call Nos. 15-21) the images on the opposite side of the pradaksiṇapatha (Uncouth Class of the Drum-Style) and three colossal images in Temple No. 16 (Nos. 72-74). All the colossal images at Deogarh show the Jina standing. Seated colossal Jina-images are rare in the whole of Central India and those which are found hardly antedate the medieval period.

Pedestal. This part of the composition is quite plain but in a number of images it projects in the middle. That the pedestal shows no relief is in keeping with the conventions of the time and need not be explained by the presence of the inscriptions. — *Attendant-figures.* The height varies between 1′10″ (left-hand attendant-figure of the comparatively small Image No. 15) and 2′5″ (right-hand attendant-figure of the large Image No. 17). As in the case of the figures on the outer walls of the Gargaj Mahādeva-temple (§ 56) there is little indication of dress and ornaments. The slimness of the bodies is reminiscent of the cāmara-bearers of the Jina at Kaushambi (§ 70), but is not quite as pronounced. The modelling is very soft No new motifs are found in the treatment of dress and ornaments but there are two or three new formulas. In the case of the attendant-figures of the five Pārśvas (Nos. 15, 17, 18, 19 and 21) the iconography is as follows: The left-hand, male figure holds a cāmara in its right and a small lotus-flower with a short stalk in its left hand. The right-hand, female figure holds with both hands the slanting "lower parasol-stick" (Figs. 334-37). Both figures are bare-headed and both are provided with a single snake-hood. This atypical iconography of the attendant-figures of Pārśva is found in many parts of India but it is nowhere de rigueur. The earliest example known to me is found at Aihole (Fig. 335). The atypical iconography admits of several varieties. The variety just described does not seem to occur outside Deogarh. Compare also the definition of "lower parasol-stick" in § 13. The attendant-figures of the two non-Pārśvas (Nos. 16 and 20) show the same hand-attributes as those of the Large Śānti. The attendant-figures of No. 16 wear mukutas (compare again the Large Śānti), but in the case of Image No. 20 they might just as well have been bare-headed since the heads have broken off — *Hood-circle and the two bodies of the snake.* As in the case of all Pārśva-images at Deogarh and in the surrounding area the hood-circle is sevenfold The lines on the surface of the hood-circle are in most cases incised with great care In the case of the central hood both edges are visible, whereas in the case of the lateral ones the inner edge of each hood is covered by the preceding hood (counted from the centre). The hood-circle is not set off against the bodies of the snake appearing to the left and to the right of the Jina. For an explanation of the presence of the two snake-bodies refer to Figs 338-41. The motif is rendered in all the five cases in the same way (Fig. 43). As almost all Pārśva-images are provided with but one snake-body it would be tempting to explain the lateral "bodies" or "coils" by the assumption that the normal hairpin bends of the coils of a single snake were flattened out (see also the definition of "snake-coils" in § 13) but in the light of certain parallels (which are of course later) we have abandoned this theory (see in particular Fig. 341). — *Main-figure* The bodies of our figures differ from that of the Large Śānti. The shoulders are more rounded and slope, the waist is narrower; the form of the fingers is serpentine; the chest is flatter. As compared with the Large Śānti the trunk is boneless and borders on the tube-like. The features are less uniform than the anatomy. No two images are exactly similar as regards the modelling of the face but certain comparisons are possible. The features of the Images Nos. 18 and 20 are similar, and the face of Image No. 15 is a pallid repetition of No. 21. The three remaining Images Nos. 16, 17 and 19 can be compared with each other and with the Jina reproduced in *Mārg, Rajasthan* (opp. p. 22). The elon-

gated eyes are reminiscent of the medieval period. The spiral pattern on the curls comes near to being overemphasized and each curl is made up of several hairs. Compare in this connection the Gupta head in the Lakhnau Museum (VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW, *The "Scythian" Period*, Fig. 60 and p. 249). The curls are rendered with particular care in the case of Image No. 15. The Jina No 20 is the only strand-image in the series. See § 131. — As usual, the *bhāmaṇḍala* is missing in the case of the five Pārśva-images. The bhāmaṇḍalas of the two non-Pārśvas are decorated with leaf-frieze and beads — *Miniature-Jinas.* One of the two non-Pārśvas (No. 20) is provided with two vertical rows of seated miniature-Jinas. A further seated miniature-Jina is depicted above the parasol-top (see below). In contrast to the rest, the two topmost Jinas of each row are not provided with a double-leaf. One of these four Jinas (left row, second from top) has a hood-circle. This consists of five (and not of seven) hoods, and by later usage the fivefold hood would indicate that the Jina is Supārśva (and not Pārśva). For the rows of miniature-Jinas compare SMITH, Pl. 94. — *Parikara-top.* We start with the description of Images Nos 15-19 and 21. The parasol-top is always so small that its sides hardly extend beyond the drum. In No. 19 it does not appear at all and in No. 21 it is depicted *above* the drum, which is unconventional. The drum is nowhere omitted. In Image No. 17 a drummer-protome is depicted above the drum. In the other cases only two hands are shown on the drum-skins. In No. 16 the parasol-top is accompanied by a double-leaf (compare No. 20). The parasol-top is always flanked by single male garland-bearers, each of whom carries one garland in both hands. — In No. 20 the same elements appear in a slightly different form: The parasol-top is larger and the garland-bearers are flat (in the case of the other images they seem to detach themselves from the back-wall and to hover in the direction of the viewer). In addition, a makara-protome is shown on the left and right border of the parikara-top, an inconspicuous loan from the throne of the seated images. The principal deviation from the parikara-tops of the six other images is created by the appearance of several tiny figures immediately below the upper edge of the image (central miniature-Jina, garland-bearing couples, elephants). The parasol-top supports a lotus-blossom, not a drum. The blossom serves as a seat for a miniature-Jina. We have to look behind the head of this Jina before we recognize a small drum with two hands on the drum-skins. The small Jina is flanked by two garland-bearing couples, and these are in turn followed by elephants with a single rider. On account of its small size the double-leaf to the left and to the right of the parasol-top (not visible in Fig. 44) can also be included in the complex of the small figures. — We can say that the parikara-top of Image No. 20 is doubled, a feature which is reminiscent of Image No. 1. The single garland-bearers are not only rendered superfluous by the garland-bearing couples but they have also been executed on a larger scale, which isolates them from the rest of the composition of the parikara-top. We can therefore relate the parasol-top, both to the big garland-bearers and to the other figures, and in each case a complete parikara-top is obtained. — Image No. 20 differs of course in many respects from the other images of the group (as we have seen, it is also not provided with an inscription in the proper sense of the word). But we have included this piece not only on account of its location (No. 20 stands between Nos. 19 and 21) but also for other reasons (size, features, colour of the stone, treatment of the cāmara-bearers). No. 20 shares some features with certain images of the Drum-Leaf Style (§ 138A).

CHAPTER EIGHT

ICONOGRAPHY OF THE WALL-FIGURES OF TEMPLE NO. 12[1]

§ 79. Niches with images are already found on the outer walls of certain Gupta temples like those at Deogarh and Nachna Kuthara ("Phase I"), but the examples are few and far between and the niches have no set form. Later on they take the shape of the front-facade of a small shrine crowned by a śikhara ("Phase II"). The opening in which the image is set resembles a door-frame to a greater or lesser extent. Normally the whole element is flat, so that the image in the "cella" and the "door-frame" are arranged on the same plane. Only in few cases are the niches so deeply cut that the figure is set back behind the facade of the niche. The number of the niches is small and in many temples their size varies. In this phase the niches are still self-contained elements (Mundeśvarī-temple in Shahabad District, Viśvabrahma-temple at Alampur, Durga-temple at Aihole, larger Śiva-temple at Mahuva) Later on, the number of niches increases, the size of the niches on one and the same temple is standardized, and the juxtaposition of individual niches gives way to a serial arrangement ("Phase III"). This stage is already reached in the case of the Telī-kā-mandir at Gwalior, while the Mālādevī-temple at Gyaraspur which is later still reflects the previous phase. Our temple which in point of time lies between the Telī-kā-mandir and the Mālādevī-temple already has a true series of niches. It goes without saying that the expression "śikhara-niche" (i.e. niche crowned by a śikhara) is based on certain early forms where the element actually had the appearance of a small temple.

§ 80. The śikhara-niches always girdle the outer walls of the temple between the plinth and the "entablature". The "girdle" of No. 12 consists of pilasters alternating with perforated slabs. The pilasters are however not monolithic: The corbel-section (at the top), the shaft and the plinth are separate units The corbel-crosses and the plinths of the several pilasters are connected by beams and rectangular blocks respectively. As a consequence the corbel-crosses and the plinths form, along with the respective intervening pieces, two horizontal strips and are no longer primarily related to the pilasters. The space between the actual pilasters (i.e. between the monolithic middle-sections) is filled by a horizontal piece below and a vertical slab above. A horizontal band decorated with a bell-frieze[2] runs along the upper edge of each slab. The lateral zones of the slab (extending from the lower edge of the band to the lower edge of the slab) are perforated and admit light into the pradaksinapatha. Normally they are perforated in such a way that a zigzag-band remains In a few cases the design is simpler, two vertical rows of rectangular apertures being cut in the slab. The most prominent feature of each slab is the śikhara-niche between the perforated zones. It stands out boldly against the slab and extends from the bottom of the slab to the upper edge of the band (overlapping the bell-frieze). The *height* of the śikhara-niches is determined by the architectural context and differs but slightly. The same cannot be said of the width, the widest niche being three times as broad as the narrowest one. As a consequence the rectangular panel in which the figure

[1] Figs 47, 52-74, 342. For an earlier discussion of the figures see SANKALIA.

[2] Composed of bells and festoons — simple bells alternating with bells from which the festoons are suspended.

appears is broader or narrower as the case may be. There are six niches on the front and back-walls, and seven on the lateral walls, making a total of 26. As provision for an entrance has been made in the centre of each wall the seven figures on the lateral walls could not be arranged in a symmetrical way. Here we have four niches on the western (front) and three on the eastern (rear) half. The lateral entrances have been placed slightly more towards the east to ensure a relatively equal arrangement of the niches (equal width and distance). At least we would assume that this was the architect's intention. There are however some quite unnecessary irregularities, the most conspicuous case being the broad niche on the left half of the rear-wall (Fig. 6).

§ 81. Of the 26 niches, 24 are open to view and these accommodate twenty-three standing female figures and one seated Jina-image. If we number the figures in a clock-wise direction and start with the śikhara-niche to the left of the main entrance we have to assign the number 26 to the Jina which appears to the *right* of the main entrance. The niches nos. 2 and 25 are hidden from view by the two small shrines which flank the main entrance (p. 37). The shrines and the outer wall of the temple are only a few inches apart. At the sides of many of the goddesses there appear small figures or vegetable objects which are often not confined to the counter-sunk panel. Above each goddess there appears a seated miniature-Jina. This Jina is set in an opening in the lower part of the caitya-window labyrinth forming the śikhara-section of the niche. Only in nos. 15, 17, and 19 does the Jina appear immediately above the head of the goddess and within the same counter-sunk panel. But this is not the only difference in the treatment of the miniature-Jinas. The hair consists sometimes of curls and sometimes of strands, a seat-lotus is sometimes depicted and sometimes not. The cihna is nowhere shown. And none of the Jinas has lateral strands or a hood circle. The number of the niches could be taken as an indication that the goddesses were regarded as being associated with the 24 Jinas. However if the hands are run over the two hidden figures nos. 2 and 25 the impression is created that *both* are goddesses. This would mean that there is one too many (25 instead of 24, the 26th figure being the seated Jina). At first sight the following explanation seems to suggest itself. No. 1 can be identified as Sarasvatī although it does not conform exactly to the known varieties of the goddess. If we remember that Sarasvatī does not form part of the series of the 24 yakṣīs (§ 15) we can imagine that the sculptors wanted to show 24 yakṣīs (or proto-yakṣīs) plus Sarasvatī. So much more so as the architectural context seems to suggest that no. 1 opens the series. However we cannot come to any precise conclusions as long as we do not consider the series *in toto*. At this stage it is impossible to say whether no. 1 is a member of the yakṣī-set or not. Nor do we know whether the two hidden figures belong to the set or not. The discussion will therefore be postponed.

§ 82. In the case of all śikhara-niches where the inscription can be read there appears the name of one of the 24 Jinas and a female name (only no. 26 has no inscription). These names are meant to identify the goddesses in the niches and the small Jinas placed above them. In four cases the inscription cannot be read, either because the niche is hidden from view (nos. 2 and 25) or because the inscription has been covered with whitewash (no. 3: name of the Jina affected, no. 24: both names affected). As there are 24 Jinas in all we have to assume that besides no. 26, one of the four niches nos. 2, 3, 24 and 25 does not bear the name of a Jina. — The names of the Jinas do not deviate from the tradition (in the whole literary and epigraphic tradition variations in the names of the Jinas are minimal, see § 15). However the names of the

goddesses agree but sporadically with known names from the Jain pantheon. All the names appear on the pilasters and the foot-bands framing the counter-sunk panels. More often than not the name of the Jina is written on the upper section of the left pilaster whereas the name of the goddess appears below the Jina's name or on the foot-band.

It is unfortunate that the observer cannot read the names of three Jinas for the reasons given above. A second difficulty is presented by the inscriptions themselves. The names of six Jinas (Jinas Nos. 2-7 appearing on niches nos. 4-23/anti-clockwise) are not arranged in the correct order. Let us examine the names as they occur. The series of the names of the Jinas begins with niche no. 5[1] — first Jina Ṛṣabha — and runs anti-clockwise up to niche no. 6[2] — 24th Jina Mahāvīra The faulty sequence (niches nos. 4-23) occurs somewhere in the middle of the set. We have already stated that the niche no. 26 (located in the faulty sequence and showing a Jina instead of a goddess) has no inscription and that the Jina-name will be missing from one of the four niches nos. 3, 2, 25 and 24. In other words, the eight niches in question (4-23) cannot supply more than six Jina-names. The following is obtained:

Niche no. 4: *Abhinandana* (No. 4) instead of Ajita (No. 2).
3: Covered with whitewash.
2: Hidden from view.
1: *Supārśva* (No. 7).
26: No inscription.
25: Hidden from view.
24: Covered with whitewash.
23: *Padmaprabha* (No. 26) instead of Supārśva (No. 7).

The names of Jinas Nos. 2-7 in their correct order are as follows: Ajita, Sambhava, *Abhinandana*, Sumati, *Padmaprabha*, *Supārśva* (only the names in italics being available).

§ 83. The peculiar character of the series has not been brought out by the presentation of the material in the preceding paragraphs. It lies in the fact that the female names on the niches herald, in a very general sense, the later yakṣī-names, but are not the real yakṣī-names. And if we ignore the inscriptions the fact remains that there is no close connection between this series and any series of goddesses described in literature. Thereby similar problems arise to those met with in the case of the Pārśvanātha-temple at Khajuraho and the Māladevī-temple at Gyaraspur. In all these cases we have to study the individual figure in the light of archaeological and literary parallels and we have to evaluate the whole by coordinating the findings regarding the individual figures of the series. We shall discuss in this paragraph, first the connection of the inscribed names with the yakṣī-names of the texts and then the non-connection of the inscriptions with the figures. The description of the figures and of the inscriptions will follow in §§ 84-86. It is only in §§ 87-90 that we shall try to interpret the figures in the manner already mentioned

We have already seen that the names of the Jinas are correct although the traditional sequence is not observed fully. There is a far greater discrepancy between the inscribed female names and the yakṣī-names of the texts. However several names agree wholly or in part, and

[1] Northern wall, second niche from the right.
[2] Northern wall, third niche from the right.

five or six out of eight or ten identical names are even connected with the same *Jina-names* as in literature (§ 85). The fact that the nomenclature of the yaksīs varies greatly in literature makes this agreement all the more remarkable. It is possible that even the series as a whole (i.e. the series of names) was not the invention of a local pandit but reflects oral or literary traditions which are otherwise lost.

The real problem is the non-connection between the figures and the inscriptions. Let us say at the outset that Indian art offers more than one example of wrong labelling[1] On the other hand there is but one fact which seems to indicate that there is at all a connection between the figures and the inscriptions. If we imagine the series of our figures and the series of the later yaksīs as being in a circle (no. 1 following no. 24) the following will result The yakṣīs no 22 (Ambikā) and no. 1 (Cakreśvarī) are separated by two intervening yaksīs (nos 23 and 24, i.e. Padmāvatī and Siddhāyikā of the later system). Similarly two figures (niches nos. 8 and 5) appear on the left wall of our temple which agree in at least one point with Ambikā and Cakreśvarī respectively and which are also separated by two figures (niches nos. 7 and 6). The goddess of niche no 8 carries a child in her arm, and the goddess of niche no. 5 holds four disks in her four hands. At first sight one would regard as rather improbable that the agreement is accidental. It seems however still more improbable that it was intentional We would then ask why yaksī no 1 (with Jina No. 1 above it) appears somewhere in the middle of the series and not beside the main entrance which would be the natural starting point. One would also ask why the Jina in niche no 7, where we would expect Pārśva (if nos. 8 and 5 are actually Ambikā and Cakreśvarī and if the correct system was adopted), is not provided with a hood-circle. Finally the question would remain open as to why the number of the female figures (25, see § 81) does not correspond exactly to the number of the Jinas (24). All this forces us to assume that the agreement between figures nos. 8 and 5 on the one hand and the yakṣīs Ambikā and Cakreśvarī on the other is in fact accidental [2] Needless to say that our two figures are in a general way inspired by the theological system But the artist has not reproduced figures from a specific series with a specific numerical sequence

The rest of the story is briefly told When the temple was completed (or perhaps a few years after its completion) a zealous pandit combined the figures nos. 8 and 5 in his mind with the yaksīs nos. 22 and 1 of the theological system. He then had the present inscriptions incised[3] fixing the system on the basis of figures nos. 8 and 5. The resulting inconsistencies are conspicuous. We mentioned already that a Jina without hood-circle had to figure as Pārśva And although one does not know the exact iconographic traditions of those days one is struck by the fact that an ordinary female cāmara-bearer in niche no. 4 has been called Sarasvatī, while conversely the fairly correct rendering of Sarasvatī in niche no. 7 has been called Padmāvatī.

§ 84. We precede the description of the figures with the text of the inscriptions. Irrespective of the actual number of lines in each inscription we print both names in the same line (separated by a diagonal) Almost all the names have already been read by Sahni (SAHNI, p. 24), but it

[1] See p 27.

[2] Compromises between the conventional approach and the theory of non-connection are not impossible The sculptor(s) possibly had a vague idea of Ambikā's and Cakreśvarī's places in the system

[3] We do not know what the yakṣīs of *his* system looked like As nos 8 and 5 supply the clue for his "identification" one can conclude that Ambikā and Cakreśvarī were similar to the synonymous goddesses of the later system. This conclusion is however of little consequence as the features of these goddesses are already determined by their names.

seemed useful to reproduce the available inscriptions *in toto*, and this as faithfully as possible. After the text of the inscriptions we supply the number and name of the respective Jina, along with the Digambara and Śvetāmbara names of the yakṣī associated with that Jina in literature. For the Digambara sources refer to § 15 The Śvetāmbara names have been taken from the Nirvāṇakalikā which was also used for the compilation of Appendix B in PHERU. Specimens of the inscriptions have been given in Fig. 47.

No. 1. *Supārśva / mayuravāhi - - devi*

Refer to the Nirvāṇakalikā where the Śrutadevatā (Sarasvatī) is called *haṃsavāhanā* (*Nirvāṇakalikā*, ed. M. B. Jhaveri, Bombay 1926, folio 37b). It would be tempting to read *Mayūravāhinidevī* but the inscription does not warrant this assumption — Supārśva (7): Kālī, Mānavī (Dig. — second Dig. name always supplied by the editor of PHERU); Śāntā (Śvet.).

No. 2. Hidden by shrine.

No. 3. Name covered with whitewash / *Jālāmālinī*

According to Digambara tradition, Jvālāmālinī is the name of the yakṣī of the 8th Jina Candraprabha (Śvet.: Jvālā, Bhṛkuṭī). The name Candraprabha is incised on niche no. 22 so that another name must have appeared here.

No. 4. *Abhinandana / bhagavatī Sarasvatī*

The form of the letters in the second inscription (*bha*...) shows that the sculptor had to struggle with the alphabet. The name Sarasvatī is found nowhere in the series of the yakṣīs. — Abhinandana (4): Vajraśṛnkhalā, Duritāri (Dig.); Kālikā (Śvet).

No. 5. *Rsabha / Cakreśvarī* Jina No. 1.

Rsabha (1): Cakreśvarī (Dig.); Cakreśvarī (Śvet.).

No. 6. *Varddhamānasya / Aparājitā* Jina No 24

See Fig. 47 for the first name. According to Digambara tradition Aparājitā is the name of the yakṣī of the 19th Jina Mallinātha (Śvet.: Vairoṭyā). — Mahāvīra Vardhamāna (24): Siddhāyikā (Dig.); Siddhāyikā (Śvet.).

No. 7. *Dha - (sya) / Pārśva / Padmavatī*

The second akṣara is clearly written but cannot be read. This is the only niche with three names. — Pārśva (23): Padmāvatī (Dig.); Padmāvatī (Śvet.).

No. 8 *Risūnemi / Ambāyikā*

Ambāyikā (instead of Ambikā) is probably formed in analogy with Siddhāyikā (see niche no. 6 supra). — Ariṣṭanemi (22): Ambikā (Dig , for further Digambara names refer to PHERU); Ambikā (Śvet.).

No 9. *Nami / Ha(ya)v(a)[i]*

Nami (21): Cāmuṇḍā, Kusumamālinī (Dig.); Gāndhārī (Śvet.).

No. 10. *Munisuvratu / Sidhai*

Compare Siddhāyikā (niche no. 6 supra). — Munisuvrata (20): Bahurūpinī (Dig.); Naradattā (Śvet.).

No. 11. *(Ma)lli (ma) / Himādevī*

Malli (19): Aparājitā (Dig.); Vairotyā (Śvet.).

No. 12. *Arasya / Tārādevī* Jina No. 18

For the second name see Fig 47 According to Śvetāmbara tradition Sutārā is the name of the yakṣī of the 9th Jina Puspadanta (Dig.: Mahākālī, Bhṛkutī). — Ara (18): Tārāvatī, Kālī (Dig.); Dhārinī (Śvet.).

No. 13. *Kuṃthu / A(rḍra)karabhi*

The second name is preceded by a character which looks like a *9* (BÜHLER, Tafeln IX, bottom right, VI) If the reading Arḍra° (for Ārdra°) were to be correct we would have to assume that contrary to normal usage the consonant after the "*r*" was not doubled. It is nevertheless tempting to interpret the name as "having the smell of ginger" (ārdraka = ginger). — Kunthu (17): Jayā, Gāndhārī (Dig.), Balā (Śvet.).

No. 14. *Śanti / Śrīyādevī*

Śrīyādevī occurs twice in the series (compare niche no. 20). — Śānti (16): Mahāmānasī, Kandarpā (Dig.); Nirvānī (Śvet.).

No. 15. *Dharmma / Surakṣitā*

For the second name see Fig. 47 Dharma (15): Mānasī, Parabhṛtā (Dig.), Kandarpā, Pannagā (Śvet.).

No. 16. *Ananta / Anantavī(r)y(ā)*

It is unusual that the name of the yakṣī derives from that of the Jina but the same is true of the Digambara name Anantamatī. — Ananta (14): Anantamatī, Vijṛmbhinī (Dig.); Ankuśā (Śvet.).

No. 17. *Vimala / Sulakṣaṇā*

Refer for the first name to Fig. 47. Vimala (13): Vairoṭī (Dig.); Viditā, Vijayā (Śvet.).

No. 18. *Tāsupuja / Abhaugaratiṇa*

A sign appears above the "*r*" of the second name which looks like the medial "*o*" of the Gupta script (BÜHLER, Tafeln IV 31 XVI). If this happens to be the correct interpretation the reading *ro* is obtained. Sahni reads *Abhogarohiṇī* accepting the Gupta-"*o*". The reading is

supported by a number of literary parallels (SHAH, *Mahavidyas*, p. 117: Mahārohiṇī, Abhoginī), but deviates considerably from the original inscription. Compare SAHNI, p. 24 no. 2239 — Vāsupūjya (12): Gāndhārī, Vidyunmālinī (Dig.); Pracaṇḍā, Pravarā (Śvet.).

No. 19. *Śreyāṃbhī / Vah(n)i*

Śreyāṃsa (11): Gaurī, Gaumedhakī (Dig.); Mānavī, Śrīvatsā (Śvet.).

No. 20. *(Ś)ītala / Śrīyā(d)evī*

The second name already occurred on niche no. 14. — Śītala (10): Mānavī, Cāmundā (Dig.), Aśokā (Śvet.).

No. 21. *Puṣpadata / Vahurupī*

According to Digambara tradition, Bahurūpiṇī is the name of the yakṣī of the 20th Jina Munisuvrata (Śvet.: Naradattā). — Puṣpadanta (9): Mahākālī, Bhṛkuṭī (Dig.); Sutārā (Śvet.).

No. 22. *Caṃdraprabha / Sumālinī*

Candraprabha (8): Jvālāmālinī (Dig.), Jvālā, Bhṛkuṭī (Śvet.)

No. 23. *(P)admaprabha / Sulocanā*

Padmaprabha (6): Manovegā, Mohinī (Dig.); Acyutā, Śyāmā (Śvet.).

No. 24. Name(s) covered with whitewash.

No. 25. Hidden by shrine.

No. 26. No inscription.

§ 85. In the case of five names the word *-devī* occurs at the end, in four cases (niches nos 11, 12, 14 and 20) it forms a compound with the name, and in one case (niche no. 1) it is separate The name on niche no. 4 is preceded by *bhagavatī* One name occurs twice (*Śrīyādevī*· nos. 14 and 20). All the Jina-names are incised in their simple form (without - *nātha*) This is somewhat unusual in the case of names with no more than two syllables like Śānti and Pārśva. The names of two Jinas are given in the genitive (nos. 7 and 12). The names of the other Jinas as well as the names of the goddesses appear in their primitive forms (i.e. without case-endings).

8 of the 22 available female names (niches nos 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 16, 21) recur in the lists of the later yakṣīs. A more remote connection is found in the case of niches nos. 10 and 22. In five or six cases the names do not only agree but are also associated with the *same Jina* as in the lists (nos. 5, 7, 8, 12, 16, one case of partial agreement: no. 22). As far as links with names exist which are not *common* to Śvetāmbara and Digambara tradition, our inscriptions always show the Digambara form Names of vidyādevīs — i.e. names occurring exclusively in the vidyādevī-lists — are not found in our inscriptions. Two of the names (nos 1 and 4) refer to the śrutadevatā Sarasvatī. As we have seen in § 81 this is not a yakṣī. By Śrīdevī (written *Śrīyādevī*) Lakṣmī must be meant. She occupies an important place in medieval Jain iconography. The

remaining ten names (some of which cannot be read with any degree of certainty) are isolated. They may however be traditional because there is no evidence to show that they were invented *ad hoc*. Only the names formed with su- were possibly formed in a mechanical manner (Surakṣitā, Sulakṣanā, Sulocanā — besides Sumālinī which is supported by tradition).

§ 86. Before describing the goddesses we have to explain our term "cāmara-padma" (cāmara-lotus). This attribute is quite frequent and consists of a bushy element attached to a short stick Cāmara-padma is the general term for both fly-whisk and lotus which occur here in a rather similar form. However some degree of distinction always remains and we have indicated by italics the actual meaning (cāmara-*padma* if a lotus is meant, and *cāmara*-padma if a fly-whisk is meant). — The brackets are used in the same way as in the transliteration of the inscriptions (§ 74).

No. 1.	cāmara-*padma*	book and book-gesture
	preaching gesture (palm of the hand facing the viewer)	conch (supported from below, narrow end pointing upwards)

The goddess is flanked by two male attendant figures (outer hands: thigh-posture; inner hands: cāmara-*padma*). Below the goddess an elongated peacock is shown in low relief.

[No. 2. Hidden by shrine.]

No. 3	(cāmara-*padma*)	(cāmara-*padma*)
	kalaśa (?)	kalaśa

The lower attributes rest on a double-plant.

No. 4.	*cāmara*-padma	thigh-posture

The cāmara is held downwards and rests on the left plant of the double-plant. The round pedestal on which the goddess stands appears to be a cursory rendering of a lotus.

No 5.	disk (held by its ribbon)	disk (held by its ribbon)
	disk (resting on the hand)	disk (resting on the hand)

To the left there appears a tall male figure with its hands folded in adoration; a medium-sized disk is shown behind it This is a type of cakrapurusa (compare *Ancient India* 6, Pl. 18 A). To the right a smaller male figure is shown: *cāmara*-padma/thigh-posture.

No. 6.	thigh-posture	cāmara-padma

Here the cāmara-padma is exactly midway between c. and p. — Double-plant.

No. 7.	bell-shaped blossom with a long stalk (disappearing behind the upper arm)	phalak or writing-tablet (held by its handle)
	varada-gesture	kalaśa

The lotus with the long stalk can be traced back to the Tārā-iconography. — To the left and to the right there appear two crude objects which are roughly cylindrical in shape and which are reminiscent of the double-plant. As parallel renderings of the same motif (Fig. 90) show, these objects represent the rolled-up ends of the dupaṭṭā. The artist has taken pains to show on the right-hand side the dupattā flowing from the wrist. The kalaśa rests on the right dupaṭṭā-end.

No. 8.	*cāmara*-padma	cāmara-*padma*
	blossom (?) held before the breast	child standing on the hand of the goddess and reaching for her ear-ornament

The legs of the goddess are crossed and this suggests that she is dancing (compare SHAH, *Roda*, Fig. 76). — Double-plant.

No. 9.	kalaśa supported by the hand	thigh -posture

The left dupaṭṭā-end looks like a large money-bag hanging down from the arm The kalaśa looks like a ball (VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW, *Catalogue of the von der Heydt Collection*, p. 49).

No. 10.	abhaya-gesture	cāmara-*padma*
	chain	thigh-posture

The goddess stands on a triple lotus rendered in a fairly realistic manner The way in which the upper pair of arms is linked to the body is however most clumsy.

No. 11.	kalaśa supported by the hand	thigh-posture
No. 12.	thigh-posture	cāmara-*padma*

The sketchy pedestal probably represents a lotus.

No. 13	kalaśa supported by the hand	cāmara-*padma*
	thigh-posture	human head held by its hair

Behind the goddess a male figure lies on the ground. Above the heel of the lying figure a disk, represented in the manner of a lotus-blossom, is shown (in the same position as the disk of no. 5).

No. 14.	disk with two crossed spokes	shield shown from its inner side and held by its ring
	sword	axe

A buffalo is shown behind the goddess. The short horns would suggest that the zebu (i.e. the bull-vāhana) is meant but the typical hump (the attribute of the zebu-bull) is missing

No. 15.	padma	thigh-posture
No. 16.	thigh-posture	cāmara

No. 17. thigh-posture	*cāmara*-padma
No. 18. (chain)	thigh-posture

The right hand probably holds the so-called loop-chain (p. 78, compare also SHAH, *Akota*, Pl. 48a). The chain, if a chain it is, is attached to the necklace and passes between the breasts. It is difficult to explain why it then runs down to the right hip instead of ending below the breasts. In this respect it resembles the sevenfold sacred thread of the male figures (SHAH, *Akota*, 23a etc.).

No. 19. cāmara-*padma*	thigh-posture

No. 20. cāmara-*padma*	kalaśa supported by the hand
?	thigh-posture

Double-plant. The attribute of the right lower hand rests on the left plant.

No. 21. cāmara-*padma*	thigh-posture

No. 22. abhaya-gesture	shield (outer side facing the viewer, hand not visible)
sword	thigh-posture

To the left a female cāmara-bearer is shown (cāmara/thigh-posture). To the right-hand side a lion is depicted (same formula as in our Fig. 9, but the hind quarters are not visible). The object to the upper left cannot be identified. It seems that it is either attached to the wrist or pierced by the sword.

No. 23 [arrow]	cāmara-*padma*
thigh-posture	bow

To the lower left there appears an animal with broken head, apparently a horse, to the right a male figure (cāmara/thigh-posture). With regard to the arrow, the bow, and the horse compare SHAH, *Mahavidyas*, Fig. 14. The bow of our figure is greatly distorted, perhaps also damaged.

No. 24. thigh-posture	?	[no photo]

[No. 25 hidden by shrine]

No. 26. Seated Jina

The Jina has curls and sits on a cushion on which a lotus is spread. Below, a dharmacakra with two lions is shown. The throne-bar is not depicted.

§ 87. Although the series as a whole has no plan, a number of individual goddesses can be identified, provided a too narrow interpretation is not placed on the term "identification". We may then distinguish between "vidyādevīs", "other goddesses", and "goddesses without

identity". "Vidyādevīs" we call all those figures which can be connected with members of the vidyādevī-lists in the texts. Whether a complete series of vidyādevīs existed already in the theology of that time does not concern us here. U.P. Shah's article on the "mahāvidyās" (which is just another word for "vidyādevīs") enables us to identify six niche-figures (see SHAH, *Mahavidyas*). In his article U.P. Shah has collected archaeological as well as literary evidence bearing on the iconography of the Śvetāmbara-vidyādevīs, and literary evidence bearing on the iconography of the Digambara-vidyādevīs. U.P. Shah's material even enables us to establish that our six vidyādevīs follow the description of the *Śvetāmbara*-texts. In other words, in those days the Digambara-version either did not yet exist or was not known in this region. We shall start with the vidyādevis and then deal with the two other groups.

Figure no 5 which is called "Cakreśvarī" in the inscription is identical with the fifth vidyādevī which bears the same name. Another Digambara-image of the same goddess (Mathura, early-medieval period) shows ten arms all of which no doubt held disks originally (nine disks have been preserved either in whole or in part). Compare VOGEL, *Catalogue*, Pl. 17 left. — The impression is obtained that the vidyādevī Cakreśvarī represents an older, freer adaptation of Visnu, while the yaksī of the same name is a later adaptation which follows the original slavishly.

The chain of *figure no. 10* is a very rare attribute and therefore suffices to identify the figure with the third vidyādevī Vajraśrnkhalā. The lotus on which the goddess stands is also reminiscent of the lotus mentioned for Vajraśrnkhalā in the texts That we attach some importance to the lotus-attribute has two reasons On the one hand the lotus-vāhana is not too common in the series of niche-figures as well as in the lists of the texts. On the other hand, the rendering of the lotus in no. 10 is more realistic than in the case of the other figures

On account of the recumbent male figure, the *goddess no 13* can be identified with the eighth vidyādevī Mahākālī. The severed head in her hand which is reminiscent of the goddess Kālī is not mentioned in the texts. This motif apparently occurs first in Amaravati (FERGUSSON, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 85b). For the recumbent figure compare the Mahāyāna god Trailokyavijaya who stands on two lying human figures — Typical attributes ascribed to the vidyādevī Mahākālī in the texts are bell and thunderbolt (or a combination of both) These objects are not found in the case of our figure.

Figure no. 14 is identical with the sixth vidyādevī Naradattā. The common attributes are buffalo, shield, and sword.

Figure no. 22 is identical with the sixteenth vidyādevī Mahāmānasī (lion, shield, and sword).

Figure no. 23 is identical with the fourteenth vidyādevī Acchuptā (horse, arrow, and bow).

§ 88. The expression "other goddesses" does not refer to yaksīs (i.e to members of the other set of Jain goddesses) but to figures which are invariably or partly independent of the two sets: Sarasvatī, Laksmī, and Ambikā.

Figure no. 1 (= Sarasvatī). The comparison of various forms of the goddess Sarasvatī enables us to establish the following standard-type:

lotus	book
varada-and-rosary	kalaśa

This type is not very common in the form given, but many images differ from it only by way of features which are obviously not original. Our figure no. 1 shows three points of deviation: The lotus follows the cāmara-padma formula typical of our series; both varada-and-rosary

and kalaśa are replaced by motifs of similar shape (preaching gesture and conch). A late parallel to the substitution of a *conch* for the kalaśa is the substitution of a *fruit* for the kalaśa (SHAH, *Sarasvati*, Fig. 25). The presence of a peacock is worthy of note. Some texts do mention this as an attribute of Sarasvatī (SHAH, *Sarasvati*, pp. 200, 205 and 206), but representations in art are rare (SHAH, *Sarasvati*, Fig. 27 and p. 209).

Figure no. 3 (= Sarasvatī or Lakṣmī). If this figure is to be identified with Lakṣmī I would derive it from the following standard-type:

lotus	lotus
abhaya-gesture	kalaśa

The figure is badly damaged but there can be no doubt that either Sarasvatī or Lakṣmī is meant.

Figure no. 7 (= Tārā-Sarasvatī). This figure differs from our standard type of Sarasvatī in three points: The lotus is not round but elongated ("blue lotus"), the book is replaced by a writing-tablet (i.e by an object of similar form), and the rosary in the lower right hand is missing. The elongated lotus is typical of the Jain Tārā (*Distinction*, Fig. 3), a conception of the artists which is not found in the texts. We have therefore used the double name "Tārā-Sarasvatī" coined on the pattern of Hari-Hara etc.

Figure no. 8 (= Ambikā). The child is sufficient to identify this goddess as Ambikā; but the treatment is unconventional in so far as the mango-bunch is missing. Taking into consideration that this is an early image of Ambikā the second pair of arms is also unusual.

§ 89. The remaining 13 figures out of a total of 23 visible figures belong to the last group ("goddesses without identity") 8 or 9 members of the group show "thigh-posture" and "cāmara-padma" (4, 6, 12, 15, 16, 17, 19, 21 and perhaps 24). They are derived from attendant-figures which show these features. No. 11 is a river-goddess without vāhana and resembles in style the river-goddesses on the rear-niche and on the right niche in the outer walls of Temple No. 15 (Figs. 157-158). No. 9 is a pallid replica of no. 11. Nos. 18 and 20 are isolated within the group but not so original as to be of any importance.

§ 90. The fact that some of the inscriptions are not accessible, that the serial order of the Jina-names has been disturbed, and that the inscriptions were added subsequently and erroneously is more or less accidental. The same is not true of the other findings. The names of the goddesses differ quite considerably from the names given in the later texts; again the figures differ greatly from the descriptions in the later texts as well as from the archaeological parallels. Not only is this due to the fact that the Jain pantheon was then only starting to evolve. It is also to be explained by the liberal way in which the artist translated the literary tradition into stone. Even in the later stage of the development of the Jain pantheon the various goddesses are not well-defined This is in keeping with the general character of Indian iconography. However the lack of precise definitions is in this case accompanied by a certain lack of variety. This is due to the fact that four sets of goddesses (Digambara and Śvetāmbara yakṣīs and vidyādevīs) were evolved *from a limited number of names and figures* which formed the early-medieval nucleus of the later fully developed system. Therefore many names and figures occur more than once. This is confusing except in those cases where two goddesses belong to the same set (yaksīs or vidyādevīs) and bear the same serial number, one being the Digambara goddess and one the corresponding Śvetāmbara goddess.

Mānavī is the name of the 7th Digambara-yakṣī (according to one text), of the 10th Digambara-yakṣī (according to another text), of the 11th Śvetāmbara-yakṣī, and of the 12th vidyādevī (with both, Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras). The example shows that there is no well-established relation between name, serial number, and group-membership. If the characterization of the figures (representation in art and description in the texts) is taken into consideration the situation becomes still more complicated. Only the *names of the vidyādevīs* are fairly uniform in all traditions. — If we describe the situation in the terms of Chapter 21 we have to say that the "corpus" of Jain goddesses resolves itself into various systems. This plurality of systems is due to the differance in time (early-medieval — medieval tradition), to the difference in the community (Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras), to the different traditions in one and the same community (different texts and temples), to the differences in the medium (literature and art), and to the differences with regard to responsibility (figures made by the artists, inscriptions arranged by the theologians).

In our specific case it suffices to say that the inscribed names tend to correspond with the yakṣī-names and that the figures themselves tend to correspond with the vidyādevīs (descriptions as well as representations). But we do not know the *names* of our six vidyādevīs, and the names of the yakṣīs offer no clue to the *appearance* of the yakṣīs We can only surmise that the vidyādevī-names used at that time were largely similar to those used subsequently. This follows from literary sources, some of which are much earlier than our temple (see SHAH, *Mahavidyas*). In the case of the yakṣīs one can infer that the outlines of the figures were still somewhat vague although the list of the names was already laid down. Otherwise one would expect some figures resembling the later yakṣīs to have been included in the set.

§ 91 Starting with the present chapter we shall, in this the second part of the monograph, deal frequently with "form-principles". "Form-principles" have been discussed in Chapter 23 and most of the form-principles mentioned in Part II will be found in the two tables of §§ 308 and 310. These tables were prepared *after* the completion of Part II. As a consequence the terminology of Part II was found to be somewhat loose when compared with the tables of Chapter 23. The terminology was therefore revised and brought into harmony with the tables. But this does not mean that the treatment in the revised Part II is in keeping with the standards of Chapter 23 where a maximum of precision was aimed at. We have basically only eliminated terminological discrepancies without trying to weld Part II and Chapter 23 into an organic unity.

Whenever the terms "repetition" and "diversity" occur we are dealing with the tables of § 308. These terms are non-historical. "Repetition" is *mostly* used for unexpected cases of similarity or identity within a *series* of figures. Conversely, "diversity" *mostly* refers to unexpected and more or less artificial differences within a *stylistic unit*.

Whenever other terms are employed we are normally dealing with historical categories. Thus "transfer" means that a partial motif (e.g. a particular hand-attribute) was transferred from one god to another god. See the tables of § 310.

§ 92. The wall-figures of Temple No. 12 offer various examples of repetition. Thus we find numerous two-armed female figures where *one* hand displays the thigh-posture. The *other* hand carries in most cases either a cāmara or a lotus or a kalaśa. The feet-lotuses and the double-plants which are also depicted more than once supply another instance of repetition. — Diversity is also in evidence. The various stylizations of the dupaṭṭā are a case in point. The

postures of the figures also vary greatly — not in the sense of free variation but in the sense of a constant change of the formula (tribhanga, dvibhanga, crossed legs in the case of no. 8, erect body in the case of no. 7). The rendering of the animals and the miniature-Jinas is not uniform either. The animals are normally shown in high-relief and in the same panel as the goddess; but in no. 1 (and only there) the animal is shown in low relief and below the panel proper (as a cihna). The miniature-Jinas are depicted either in the panel or in the caitya-window labyrinth above it[1].

It is also possible to pin-point a few historical form-principles. The prototype of no. 1 is no doubt Sarasvatī, but here the goddess carries *inter alia* a conch and a cāmara-padma. The conch was probably derived from Viṣnu so that the term "transfer" would be appropriate. In the case of the cāmara-padma there is no precise source (cāmara-padma is just "repeated" in the series). Therefore we are not dealing with "transfer" but with a particular case of "variation". We can refer to a prototype (and in so far the form-principle is historical), but we do not know from which side the prototype was influenced. Another case of *transfer* is supplied by no. 13 (hovering disk undoubtedly transferred from no. 5 = Cakreśvarī).

If we compare partial motifs directly with one another we have to use some of the terms appearing in the tables of § 310, although strictly speaking both the tables (§§ 308 and 310) refer to entire motifs and *not* to partial motifs. Thus the similarity of cāmara and padma (as well as the strange similarity of the dupattā of no. 7 with the double-plant of no. 20 etc.) can be called an instance of assimilation.

§ 93. The series contains different stylistic types (§ 272). The better figures can be compared with contemporary statuary Thus the niche-figures nos. 1 and 18 are not too far removed from the Ambikā-images nos. 5 and 3 respectively. But the majority of the figures are most clumsy (no. 14). Similar to the style of the latter are the niche-figures on the walls of other early-medieval temples, in particular those on the Gadar Mal at Badoh (Fig. 75). The comparison shows that such figures are not isolated instances of poor workmanship but represent a regional type. The similarity is not restricted to the general appearance. Both in Figs. 63 (niche-figure no. 14) and 75 (niche-figure on the Gadar Mal) the folds of the garment are rendered by double-lines, in both cases the lower eye-lid is quite straight, and so on.

§ 94. We had already mentioned in § 19 that some of the architectural remains in the temple-compound are typologically connected with Temple No. 12. But although four yakṣī-slabs (identical in type with the yakṣī-slabs *in situ*) are contained in this material, it seems unlikely that the type of Temple No. 12 was represented more than once. The number of extant fragments is too limited to suggest such a theory. — The four yakṣī-slabs (Figs. 48-51) are in various states of preservation The slabs as such do not differ from each other or from those on Temple No. 12. The first piece (Fig. 48) is placed against the west-side of the platform in front of Temple No. 12. Below the two-armed figure a lotus is indicated. As in the case of

[1] The ear-ornaments consist as usual of rings and disks (§ 53) Sometimes the disk appears to the left and the ring to the right, and sometimes the reverse is the case. This is however not "diversity" in the sense intended above. It seems to have a technical reason The heads of the goddesses often appear in three-quarter view. Here a careful representation of the ear-ornament only needed to be made in the case of the side facing the viewer. For this side the artist preferred the disk because its rendering was easier. Thus the disk decorated the left ear where the head was turned to the right, and it decorated the right ear where the head was turned to the left.

many of the niche-figures of Temple No. 12 one hand carries the cāmara-*padma* while the other hand displays the thigh-posture. The fragment of Fig. 49 lies to the west of the Rampart. Whereas other niche-figures are merely *inspired* by attendant-figures (normally by cāmara-bearers), this fragment shows a full-fledged female parasol-bearer, as we find it as attendant-figure on a number of Pārśva-images (attributes: triple hood-circle and lower parasol-stick). The slab of Fig. No 50 is placed against the plinth of Shrine No. 12 D. The left hand shows the thigh-posture, and the right one seems to touch the breast. The piece of Fig. 51 belongs to Wall-Section VI. The attributes are once again cāmara-padma and thigh-posture. A double-plant is also represented.

§ 95. We have already referred to the miniature-Jinas above our goddesses. Such a Jina is quite common in the case of independent images. It indicates that the deity in question belongs to the Jain pantheon, and not to the Buddhist or Hindu pantheon The fact that the miniature-Jina is represented invariably could be regarded as an indication that each goddess belongs to a particular Jina and that the artist had the yaksī-series in mind. However the miniature-Jina is also found above every ācārya of the frieze-slab images (Fig. 210) and above every socle-figure (whether yaksī or not) of the two medium-sized pillars to the west of Temple No. 1 (i.e. eight times in all; p. 32). It therefore follows that the small Jinas of the niches on Temple No. 12 and of the four slabs mentioned in the previous paragraph had no special significance.

CHAPTER NINE

THE DRUM-STYLE

§ 96. We have already observed in the Introduction that the Jina-images at Deogarh show an unusual stylistic variety. The classification on stylistic grounds is therefore of primary importance. But although the extreme variation found at this place may be called unique one should not overlook the fact that a certain amount of variation is found in other places and provinces as well, more than would appear at first sight. It is only due to the propaedeutic tendencies in the surveys of Indian art that the relevant standard-types are over-emphasized at the cost of the respective minority-types. This can be noticed in the case of Gupta art, North Indian temple architecture etc. The description of the extreme conditions obtaining at Deogarh will, it is hoped, throw some light on these pluralistic tendencies Here we cannot distinguish between a single standard-type and several minority-types. Therefore we are not tempted to select the former and to neglect the latter. At Deogarh we are dealing with various types which are of equal importance both from the point of view of quantity and from the point of view of quality.

§ 97. §§ 332-333 show that the classification is quite complicated. The medieval style falls in the main into four different *periods*. It is possible that these so-called periods overlap to some extent in time. It would nevertheless appear that one period developed from the other. In the case of the early-medieval style the number of sub-units is much larger and we cannot derive one sub-unit from the other. Taking a rather minor iconographic detail as the basis we can distinguish between a *Drum-Style* and a *Drum-Leaf Style* (details below). The styles can be subdivided in *classes* or in similar (sub-)units of the same magnitude *(sections)*. Here too the division is not based primarily on style (also not necessarily on the physiognomy which is admittedly a very distinctive feature of the images) but on iconographic features. After all we have in the first place to establish the different schools of artists. It would appear that broadly speaking these schools have their iconographic peculiarities, whereas clear-cut stylistic lines of demarcation are hard to trace. The division into schools however is on the whole also a division into styles.

The base of the pyramid is formed by the so-called *groups*. Images belonging to the same group do not just show isolated points of agreement but are closely related. The *sets* are as small as the groups but different in character. Images of the same set are similar with respect to external features, like material (nature of the stone), technique, size, and location. Groups and sets may coincide but this is not necessarily the case. Finally we have to mention the *isolated images* Such an image does not belong to any group or set. It *may* belong to a class (and a style) or to a style alone. The general term which covers everything from *style* down to *isolated image* is "*unit*".

The distinction between our two early-medieval styles is difficult but the following course may be acceptable. In the case of the images of the Drum-Style, only a drum is represented above the three parasol-tops in the parikara-top. In the case of the images of the Drum-Leaf Style a double-leaf is added to the drum. Broadly speaking, a certain stylistic difference is concomitant with this distinction. The first style is "additive", and the surface of the images is

partly plain. The second style welds all elements into a whole (this is particularly true of the parikara-top) and relief is used throughout. These features of the second style recur in the medieval style. It would however be wrong to assume that the Drum-Leaf Style comes between the Drum-Style and the medieval style in point of time. In fact it can be shown that both early-medieval styles are contemporary. It is also not possible to *derive* the medieval style from the Drum-Leaf Style. All that can be said is that the protagonists of the medieval style owed a great deal to the Drum-Leaf Style but did not have recourse to the Drum-Style.

Images showing the stylistic features of the Drum-Leaf Style mostly have the double-leaf. But the reverse is not true. Images with the double-leaf do not necessarily have the stylistic features of the Drum-Leaf Style. In a number of cases it is of course easy to show that double-leaf images have the stylistic features of the Drum-Style and actually *belong* to the latter. These images do not only show the general stylistic appearance of the Drum-Style but share with it also a number of details. Here we can say that the double-leaf is an isolated element transferred for some reason or other to an image made in one of the schools of the Drum-Style (Images Nos. 55 and 69). Needless to say that this explanation is also applicable if more than one element is taken from the Drum-Leaf Style (double-leaf *and* miniature-Jinas in the case of Image No. 55). The case is different if double-leaf images show the general character of the Drum-Style but have no clear connection with either Drum-Style or Drum-Leaf Style. Here we can retain the double-leaf criterion only by establishing certain less conspicuous but by no means irrelevant links between the images under consideration and the Drum-Leaf Style (§ 170). In our classification these problematic images form the Section of the Plain Images within the Drum-Leaf Style, but an alternative classification will be found in § 277.

An iconographic and stylistic *overlapping* of both styles can be observed in our Fair Class (§ 109). Two images of this class (Nos 20 and 84) show the double-leaf. Besides, these and other images of the Fair Class share further characteristics with the Drum-Leaf Style in general and with the Class with Miniature-Figures in particular (§138A). The similarities concern the parikara-top and the employment of miniature-figures. Nevertheless the majority of the images of the Fair Class has nothing in common with the Drum-Leaf Style. If the unity of the Fair Class as such is accepted, the images mentioned should be attributed to the Drum-Style where the majority of the Fair Class images belong

A third difficulty arises because of the presence of countless *later images* some of which are rather pallid from the point of view of style. Some of them have been placed in certain classes of the Drum-Style. Others form groups which do not belong to any class but which can be attributed to one of the styles. In connection with the Drum-Style we have examined one such group (Nos. 126-132), but more than one group has been discussed in the chapter on the Drum-Leaf Style. This is due to the abundance of later images (most of them being seated) in the Drum-Leaf Style ("Section of the Later Images"). Apart from the images related to the last-mentioned drum-leaf groups (but not actually belonging to them) many more images of both styles had to be neglected. Many of them show a complete absence of distinctive features. In other cases the parikara-top is missing, which makes classification also difficult. A few images have a little more to offer, but their connection with both styles is so tenuous that their inclusion would only confuse the position.

The quantity of the material placed limits on the extent of documentation possible. Selecting only one out of several representatives of the same type and mentioning the others only in the text was on the whole unavoidable. It seemed however necessary to enable the reader in certain cases to check our classification. We have therefore reproduced all images of the Fair

Class of the Drum-Style and all images of the Section of the Plain Images of the Drum-Leaf Style. In both cases the images are of no mean standard and uniformity is *limited*. In these two cases merely presenting the reader with the complete result would not suffice. Rather he should be given the opportunity to establish the mutual relationship of the images within their class as well as their relationship to images not belonging to the relevant class.

§ 98. Whereas many sets (which may be, but need not be, groups at the same time) are to be found in the same location, the classes and the mere groups (i.e. those groups which are not also sets) are scattered. Images of the Slender Class are found in the Temples Nos. 8, 12, 13-16, on the Wall, and among the debris to the west of the Rampart (total: fifteen pieces). Conversely one and the same temple may house images of different classes etc. Thus the main idol of Temple No. 12 belongs to the Drum-Leaf Style whereas the pradakṣiṇapatha is filled with specimens of three different classes of the Drum-Style (Uncouth Class, Fair Class, and Far-Eastern Class). For this reason, and on account of the wide-spread contamination (i.e. c. in its descriptive sense[1], see the Index of Terms), classifying amounted to the reconstruction of a phase which was largely obscured by subsequent developments. — A fairly clear-cut physical separation exists only between medieval and early-medieval images (§ 35).

While using terms like "contamination", "overlapping" etc. we are referring to the interaction of the well-established stylistic units at Deogarh (in particular of the styles and classes). The genesis of the units themselves does not concern us here We regard them as distinctive stylistic phenomena without making any attempt at derivation

The discovery of the classes is facilitated by the fact that most classes contain some large, finely executed pieces which have preserved what may be called the true character of the class. However in some classes such images are absent, whereas many a large image is without any significance whatsoever.

THE UNCOUTH CLASS (Nos. 22-56)

§ 99. In the case of the Uncouth Class we have to distinguish between two determinants. One of them is a certain physiognomical and anatomical type (motif I), and the other is made up of certain parikara-elements (motif II). In a number of cases, figures deviating from the anatomical standard-type were put into the standard-parikara (motif II without motif I) just as the figures of the Throne-Frame Class (Drum-Leaf Style) differ in their physiognomy. Here we shall deal with all images which show either both motifs or motif II alone.

The standard physiognomy (and anatomy) displays the following traits: almond-shaped eyes, stereotyped *curls*, hemispherical shape of that part of the head which is covered with curls, the uṣṇīṣa either projecting sharply from the head or missing, broad shoulders, thick-set physique, and strangely curved hands. As regards the curls one often gets the impression that horizontal or vertical ridges were carved out and subsequently divided into a series of cubes which served as a material for the curls (Fig 84). — The most noteworthy characteristics of the standard-parikara are the cāmara-bearers (Fig. 78) and the bhāmaṇḍala (Fig. 82). The cāmara-bearers are mostly bare-headed and attached to a back-plate consisting of a bhāmandala and an oblong. Hair-style and hand-attributes vary a good deal. In a few cases the attendant-figures have no cāmaras at all (we use however in this paragraph and in the next the familiar term "cāmara-bearer" in all general references) The bhāmandala of the Jina

[1] Paradigmatic instances will be found in §§ 61 (first paragraph), 153 (last paragraph), and 156 (third paragraph). In other cases, contamination can be taken in a more historical sense (§§ 111, 140).

consists of an oval or circular zone with a simple and lightly incised pattern. The motif is geometrical (often an adaptation of the leaf-circlet). The surface surrounded by this ornamented zone is plain. Inscriptions are almost completely absent. — Motif II is probably an invention of the Deogarh artists, but motif I is not restricted to this place (Fig. 76, Jina at Rajgir).

§ 100. We shall first deal with the colossal images (§§ 101-102) and afterwards with those images which are less than life-size (§ 104-105). In each case images showing motifs I and II will be discussed before images which show motif II alone Amongst the colossal images even those which do not follow motif I as such are "uncouth", hence the unity of the colossal images within the Uncouth Class. The cāmara-bearers of the colossal images have the form usual for the class but are remarkably small. The stone is coarse-grained, in many cases buff. Hair, eyes, ears, and fingers are often stylized in a grotesque manner. Variety is not achieved by different constellations of the constituent parts but by varying treatment of the cāmara-bearers and of the hair of the main-figure. — Seven colossal images are found in the pradakṣinapatha of Temple No. 12, most of them facing the images of the Double-Snake Group. These seven images bear however no particular resemblance to one another. They belong to different groups. — There is but one colossal Pārśva-image (No. 26).

§ 101. Motifs I and II are found with Images Nos. 22-27, which form a group of their own. All have a sharply projecting cylindrical usnīsa in common and all except Image No. 24 (see below) have thick curls. — All that remained from Image No. 22 is the part above the shoulders. The fragment is kept in the lower storey of Temple No. 11 in the main-room. Nos. 23-25 belong to the seven images in the pradaksinapatha of Temple No. 12 (Figs 274 = 348; 347; 77/78). Nos. 23 and 24 are twins ("set" within the "group"). The only difference lies in the fact that the first piece shows curls and the second unplaited strands. The actual difference is minimal, however, as in this class the curls are, technically speaking, only divided strands. Image No. 25 is the most typical specimen of this class and theoretically it could be the prototype for the class as such. Some illegible aksaras are incised on the pedestal. No. 26 stands in Temple No. 16 and leans against its rear-wall This piece carries two short inscriptions and is the only specimen of the class provided with a hood-circle. The attendant-figures are typical (§ 14). No. 27 belongs to Wall-Section III. Its modelling is unusually soft. The fragments Nos. 28 and 29 (Wall-Sections I and VIII) can be connected with the previous image on account of the similar treatment of the body It can however not be definitely stated that motif I was present because the head is missing in both cases The Images Nos. 28 and 29 are both broken off above the shoulders and below the ankles.

§ 102. The colossal images showing *motif II alone* lack uniformity and the most that can be done is to group them in pairs. No. 30 (Fig. 79) stands in the pradaksinapatha of Temple No. 12 (to the left of the main-entrance as one enters). The parikara is defective: The garland-bearers and parasol-and-drum are missing. This (as well as the treatment of the head) probably shows the influence of the Large Śānti which is no doubt earlier. In the latter case, garland-bearers and parasol were of course depicted but these elements lay outside the bhāmandala. Both motifs were dropped automatically when the main-figure of Image No. 1 was copied with the bhāmaṇdala alone.

Nos. 31/32 are again twins (forming a group as well as a set) They also stand in the pradakṣiṇapatha of Temple No. 12 (Figs. 350 and 81 right). Like the four images which follow, they

have no curls but unplaited strands and lateral strands The artist made no attempt to elaborate the individual strands and so they were fused into what looks like a thick cap. To the right of the head of Image No. 32 a large piece of the bhāmandala is broken away.

The Images Nos. 33 and 34 form a group (not a set). They can be described as elaborations of the type of Images Nos. 31/32. The Jina No. 33 (Fig 82) leans against the rear-wall in the larger room of Temple No 13 Image No. 34 (Fig. 80) is a fragment lying to the west of the Rampart. In the case of these two images the "cap" of the previous pair is blown up. Little remains of the lateral strands in the case of No. 34, but one can recognize that their rendering was more or less conventional In No. 33 the lateral strands are over-emphasized. Moreover they are divided, one part flowing forward over the shoulders and one part hanging down to the left and to the right of the figure and reaching the calves. The Images Nos. 32-34 have makara-protomai which appear in the angle between the bhāmandala and the rectangular back-plate (compare for the makara-motif Image No. 20 of the Double-Snake Group).

Nos. 35 (Figs 81 left and 349) and 36 are the only specimens of a type which is otherwise not represented. They are therefore dealt with together although No. 36 is less than life-size. It is nevertheless possible to call the two images a group. No. 35 stands in the pradakṣinapatha of Temple No. 12. The other image belongs to Wall-Section VIII and only the part above the knees is preserved. No 35 has makara-protomai (at the same location as the three previous images). As in the case of No. 32, a piece has been broken out of the bhāmandala, but in this instance to the left instead of to the right of the head (Nos. 35 and 32 stand side by side in the south-west corner of the pradakṣinapatha [see Fig. 81], but the similarity of the defect might be coincidental) No. 35 is plumper than any other image of the class. Here and in the case of No 36 the strands are rendered by fluting, the grooves running from the front to the rear. In the instance of No. 35 the lateral strands are divided in a manner similar to that found on No. 33. Worthy of note is the fact that the strands run over the head instead of hanging down from it. In No. 36 the lateral strands have been greatly simplified. Here the formula reminds one of the Images Nos. 31/32.

Of the three remaining Images Nos 37-39, two (37 and 38) form a group and two (38 and 39) a set. No 37 is a fragment (image missing below the calves, and rear-wall broken above the head) and lies behind Temple No 16. Image No 38 (Fig. 83) leans against the south-wall of the chamber in the hall in front of Temple No. 12 (extreme left), and No. 39 stands on its left (i.e. west-wall, extreme right) Nos. 37 and 38 are the only images dealt with in this paragraph which have the jaṭā (i.e. plaited and not unplaited strands). The jaṭā appears in its reduced form (Fig. 357). The lateral strands flow over the shoulders to the right and to the left No. 38 is but a cruder replica of No. 37. That it is of a later date follows from the slanting eyes which are so typical of the smaller (and later) images of the class. — No. 39 is comparatively late, just as No. 38. It shows curls, and the uṣṇīṣa is treated according to motif I (projecting sharply). The physiognomy is however not in keeping with motif I, and this is why the image was not dealt with in the previous paragraph.

§ 103. As indicated already the smaller images of the class (all less than life-size) are in all probability later than the colossal images and derived from them. They are more uniform, but motif II is sometimes not very prominent. Child-like features are not uncommon. Three of the images (Nos. 41-43) depict Pārśva Motifs I and II are found with Images Nos. 40-48, motif II *alone* is found with Nos. 49-55. That the smaller images of the class are somewhat pallid as compared with the bigger ones is not apparent from our Figs., as we have reproduc-

ed in the case of the smaller images only the more interesting specimens. For Image No. 36 which is also less than life-size compare the previous paragraph.

§ 104. Some of the smaller images with the motifs I and II have been provided with a double lotus-creeper (see below). The images *without* this elaboration can be divided into three pairs (pair in the sense of group and of set). The first pair (Nos. 40/41) stands in the hall in front of Temple No. 12. In the case of Image No. 40 the left upper corner of the rear-wall has been broken away. No. 41 shows Pārśva, and the treatment of the snakes is reminiscent of the Double-Snake Group (the same is true of the next pair). The two Pārśvas Nos. 42/43 belong to Wall-Sections X and XVI and are of little artistic merit. Nos. 44/45 stand in the south-west corner of Temple No. 15. In the case of this last pair the motifs I and II are not very pronounced.

The double lotus-creeper appears on Images Nos. 46-48. The first image is better preserved than the rest, only the portion below the calves being missing (Fig 84). It stands in Temple No. 21 in the covered "court" between the two cells. Image No. 47 belongs to Wall-Section VIII; the portion above the head has been broken away and the top of the head has also been mutilated. No. 48 lies amongst the fragments to the west of the Rampart. The upper and lower part of the image (above the shoulders and below the ankles) are missing. All that remains of the parikara is the left cāmara-bearer and the lower end of the lotus-creeper appearing above it. The comparatively well-preserved Image No. 46 gives a rough idea of the original shape of the two fragments. There are however considerable differences. We mention only the fact that in No. 47 the lotus-creeper consists of blossoms and buds, and not of leaves as is the case with Images Nos. 46 and 48.

§ 105. Those of the smaller images which show motif II alone have strands like the *colossal* motif-II images (only one curl-image, viz. No. 39, was included in the colossal motif-II images). But whereas only two colossal motif-II images (Nos. 37 and 38) have the jaṭā (i.e. plaited strands) this is found with all the smaller motif-II images. In five cases (Nos 49-53) the jaṭā is even over-emphasized

Image No. 49 (Fig. 85 right) stands in the small room of Temple No 13; No. 50 stands in the right room of Temple No. 14; and No 51 belongs to Wall-Section X. In the case of Image No. 51 the rear-wall has been broken away above the head. The waist has been pushed up too high in each case The three images are closely related but it is not possible to speak of a single group. — In the case of Image No 52 (in Temple No. 15 in the south-west corner) the over-emphasized jaṭā has a form similar to that of Images Nos 49-51 (Fig 86) The physiognomy is however reminiscent of the pair Nos. 44/45 with which it forms a set of three images. No. 52 carries a short inscription. — Image No. 53 (in Temple No 17) differs in the treatment of the jaṭā from Nos. 49-52 (Fig. 87). The piece bears a remote resemblance to the somewhat earlier seated Jina at Rajgir (*ASIAR* 1925/26, 56d), but this may be a parallel development. In the case of No. 53 the circular zone of the bhāmandala is doubled and in contradistinction to Nos. 49-52 lateral strands are only shown on the shoulders (and not to the left and to the right of the figure)

Images Nos 54/55 form a pair (in the sense of group). No. 54 belongs to Wall-Section XIII, and No. 55 stands in Temple No. 16 (Fig. 88). The second image has two vertical rows of miniature-Jinas, and to the left and to the right of the parasol a double-leaf (stylized in a peculiar way) is depicted. Both features are reminiscent of the Drum-Leaf Style. In the case of both images the attendant-figures have no back-plates.

§ 106. The previous paragraph contains cases where contamination can be established because the constituent parts can be derived from well-defined types found at Deogarh itself. No. 52 reflects on the one hand the type of Nos. 44/45, and on the other hand the type of Nos. 49-51. No. 55 is a rather pronounced example of the Uncouth Class, but the miniature-Jinas and the double-leaf belong to the programme of the Drum-Leaf Style (§§ 97 and 126/138A). In addition, mention must be made of No. 56 (Fig. 89). The treatment of the head follows the type of the previous paragraph and the rows of miniature-Jinas are again reminiscent of the Drum-Leaf Style. Motif II is only evident in the form of the back-plates of the attendant-figures The image is about midway between the Drum-Leaf Style and the Drum-Style (Uncouth Class). That the miniature-Jinas are a peculiarity of the Drum-Leaf Style is corroborated by the fact that the double-leaf is missing in the case of the main-figure but is depicted above all the *miniature*-Jinas (in No 55 the miniature-Jinas had of course no double-leaf). A few features of Image No 56 are unique (at least at Deogarh). This applies to the low relief of the miniature-Jinas It also applies to the horizontal band on top which forms, along with the two vertical bands to the left and to the right of the main-figure, a rectangular frame open at the bottom Somewhat unusual is also the treatment of the three top-most miniature-Jinas; one appears on the front of the parasol and two to the left and to the right of it above the horizontal band The double-leaves are missing in these cases but this is only due to simplified rendering. All the miniature-Jinas are provided with a throne. The throne of the two Jinas flanking the parasol appears on the aforesaid horizontal band.

The river-goddess Gangā of Fig 90 appears on a door-jamb fragment to the west of the Rampart. The motifs I and II are missing here in part or even wholly, but the head bears close resemblance to several images of our class. The strands follow the formula of Nos. 37/38 and 54/55, the eyes follow motif I, the makara is reminiscent of the makaras of No. 33, and the treatment of the goddess' right hand is the same as in the case of the right-hand attendant figure of Image No 38 (in Fig 83 concealed). Like our river-goddess, the attendant-figure of No. 38 supports a kalaśa with her left hand, while the right hand is hanging down on the piled up dupattā-end. The door-jamb figure is interesting on two grounds. Firstly this is an instance of a non-Jina having elements of the Uncouth Class. This shows that the Uncouth Class reflects a stylistic tendency which was not necessarily restricted to one and the same motif Secondly this is an example of iconographic (not stylistic) contamination because the hair-style of a Jina (or of any ascetic) is not appropriate for the river-goddess Gangā. — The door-jamb fragment is comparatively late in date (note the cursory rendering of the scroll-work). This indicates that some of the colossal images and some of the smaller images of our class which are rendered in the same superficial fashion can be assigned to the latest phase in the development of the early-medieval style.

The Slender Class (Nos. 57-71)

§ 107 The Slender Class is smaller and more uniform than the Uncouth Class. The larger examples (see e.g. Fig. 93) are remarkably slender; hence the name of the class. The decisive factor however is the uniform treatment of the face and of the hair as seen in Figs. 359-60 (the jaṭā either follows the herring-bone formula or the striped formula). The form of that part of the head which is covered with strands is however not absolutely uniform. The cāmara-bearers reflect in the main the type of the Fair Class (see § 109 below) but are smaller. Moreover the images of the Slender Class show the same soft modelling and smoothness as those of

the Fair Class, but the decorative features of the Fair Class are missing here (as in all the other classes of the Drum-Style). *Inter alia* the leaf-circlet, which is so typical of the Fair Class, is completely missing in the Slender Class. The material is almost always pale sandstone. There are no inscriptions. No. 68 is the only image in this class to show Pārśva.

It is of course possible that the class is also represented outside Deogarh, but I have not yet come across any proof of it. On the other hand, there are two images of non-Jinas at Deogarh showing the same treatment of the head as the images of the Slender Class. The first instance is an isolated head now kept in the Museum near the Gupta temple (Fig. 91), and probably showing Kṛṣna or Skanda (see the hair-style). The second example is an image of Ambikā belonging to Wall-Section II which is not very well preserved. As the other features are of no interest in this connection only the head has been reproduced (Fig. 92). It must however be added that the body of the goddess is as slender as that of the larger Jinas of the Slender Class. The Kṛṣna-head and the Ambikā-image are indisputably examples of the Slender Class.

Image No. 57 is an instance of contamination. This is the only seated image of our class (Wall-Section XII, Fig. 96). It is true that there are no individual features which are foreign to our class, but the fact that the rear-wall is taken up by flat motifs of poor workmanship shows some connection with the technique of the later images of the Drum-Leaf Style. Apart from this hybrid character there are some individual features which are worthy of note. In the series of the grahas, Ketu is missing, the right-hand cāmara-bearer has a curious large leaf (derived from the grahas?), the hand-attributes of the cāmara-bearers are unconventional (cāmara/lotus — cāmara/thigh-posture), the upper part of the linga of the Jina is visible, and below the knees two curious objects are depicted. In their form these objects resemble the lateral elements of the triple lotus (Fig 128) as well as the brooms of the ācāryas and sādhus (Fig. 210). In the case of the lotus-blossom lying on the throne-blanket, pericarp and petals are clearly separated. Thereby the impression is created that three round blankets (including the actual throne-blanket) have been placed one above the other. Cushion and throne-bar are missing.

§ 108. We shall first deal with the colossal Images Nos. 58-65 and then with the smaller Images (less than life-size) Nos. 66-71. The division on the grounds of size is however of little importance in the case of this class. The Images Nos. 58-60 all stand in the larger room of Temple No. 13 and form a group as well as a set. Strictly speaking, the three images form but two pieces because Nos 59 and 58 appear (as one enters) on the front and on the back of the same slab. Our Fig. 93 shows Images No. 59 (left) and No. 60 (right), Figs 360 and 359 show the heads of Nos. 58 and 60. The double-image No. 58/59 is the only instance of this type at Deogarh. The only parallel known to me is an image on the Gwalior Fort (Telī-kā-mandir compound) showing Bāhubalin on one side and his brother Bharata on the other The design of the jaṭā differs in all three cases (essentially, No 58 shows the herring-bone formula and the others the striped formula). — The remaining six colossal images cannot be grouped. No. 61 belongs to Wall-Section XIII (extreme right), No. 62 (Fig. 117) stands in the middle of the same Section, No. 62 A (head damaged) belongs to Wall-Section X (extreme right), and No. 63 is an isolated head lying to the west of the Rampart. No. 61 has very broad curved parasol-tops; in the case of No. 62 the head is disproportionately large; No. 62 A has lateral strands. — Two images (Nos. 64 and 65) have not the smooth jaṭā (which represents a later stage in the development of the motif) but the reduced jaṭā. These two images are certainly among the

early if not the earliest images of the class. No. 64 is a fragment to the west of the Rampart (head with part of the parikara) and No. 65 stands in the pradaksinapatha of Temple No. 12 amongst images of the Uncouth Class (Fig. 94). In the first case the jaṭā follows the formula of Fig. 112, in the second case no parallel to the jaṭā can be found. No. 65 has lateral strands.

The three smaller Images Nos 66-68 have creeper-motifs incised to the left and to the right of the Jina. No 66 (Fig. 95) lies amongst the fragments to the west of the Rampart and has lateral strands. In Nos. 67 (left room of Temple No. 14) and 68 (right room of the same temple) the scroll-work is stylized. No. 68 is the only Pārśva of the class. Here animal-motifs (vyāla and makara-protome) are incised above the scroll-work. — No. 69 (Temple No. 15) has lateral strands. The double-leaf (which was borrowed from the Drum-Leaf Style) is unusually large. — Image No 70 stands in Temple No 16 and is a double-image (i.e. two Jinas standing side by side) It has some additional elements not found in the other images of the class but nevertheless belongs to it. At the top, a big piece of the rear-wall has been broken away, and part of the surface has been worn away to such an extent that an accurate description of the parikara is no longer possible. We recognize however to the left a vertical row of five grahas surmounted by a female (!) cāmara-bearer. Both Jinas of the image have a bhāmandala (the only instance in the class) It is decorated with a leaf-circlet similar to that of No. 113. — No 71 (Temple No. 8) has lateral strands and a bhāmaṇḍala with a geometrical design. In its general appearance it deviates slightly from the other images of the class. The rear-wall has been broken away above the head.

The Fair Class (Nos 15-21 and 72-91)

§ 109 Numerically, the Fair Class occupies an intermediate position between the Uncouth Class and the Slender Class. The Fair Class has two characteristics. Firstly the motif of the leaf-circlet (which is employed for the bhāmaṇḍala), the uṣṇīsa-lotus, and the foot-lotus (Figs. 108, 106, 100 centre) Admittedly these three features are not confined to the Fair Class. Moreover, the different mode of employment of one and the same motif implies a good deal of variation in its rendering. But the stylistic idiom is the same in the case of all the leaf-circlets and they can therefore safely be called a characteristic of the class. The second distinguishing feature is a peculiar type of cāmara-bearer. The cāmara-bearers are carved in high relief and are bare-headed As in the case of Images (i.e. Ambikās) Nos. 2-6 the hair is twisted around a circular roller. We have already mentioned (§ 107) that the cāmara-bearers of the Slender Class were probably borrowed from the Fair Class. — The term "fair" indicates a broad distinction from the other classes of the Drum Style. Admittedly at a pinch, the Slender Class could also be called "fair" But a comparison shows that decorative elements and elegant, pleasing forms are more in evidence in the case of the fair images than in the case of the slender images. — All Jinas of this class are standing. The parasol-stick which occurs repeatedly in the Slender Class is found only in the case of Image No. 90 (Fig. 116). The material is for the most part light yellow or light red sandstone. With the exception of the colossal Images Nos. 15-21 and 72-74, the images are less than life-size. Inscriptions appear on the Images Nos. 15-21 (Double-Snake Group, §§ 75 foll) and 72-74 (Temple No. 16). There are five Pārśva-images in the Double-Snake Group and two (Nos. 73 and 77) outside it. — The reader will recall that in the Double-Snake Group the leaf-circlet (our class characteristic) occurred twice (in Nos. 16 and 20 — both times employed as a bhāmaṇḍala).

§ 110. The three colossal Images Nos. 72-74 in Temple No. 16 (leaning against its rear-wall) form a set (Figs. 97-99 A), and as far as size, quality, technique, and age are concerned, are vaguely reminiscent of the Double-Snake Group. The three images might be called a group were it not for the fact that the heads differ so greatly. The sharp line of demarcation between similarity and dissimilarity is remarkable (§§ 140 and 304). In the case of the curl-image No. 72, the bhāmaṇḍala consists of concentric rings (compare Nos. 76 and 79 of the same class). No. 73 (also with curls) represents Pārśva but it does not follow the Double-Snake formula of the snake(s). To the left and to the right there appear the usual coils which here continue to the base of the image. In addition to that, horizontal lines are carved on the rear-wall between the legs of the Jina, indicating the continuation of the coils behind his body. No. 74 can be called a classical example of the reduced jaṭā. For this reason we have reproduced the head for a second time amongst our jaṭā drawings (Fig. 357). No. 74 has lateral strands. — Our set covers all the three types represented in the Jina-iconography: standard-Jina (No. 72), Pārśva (No. 73), and Rsabha (No. 74). In all the three cases the eyebrows are rendered by a projecting band, and in the Pārśva-image their inner ends have an upward sweep (an early-medieval instance of a stylistic feature of the medieval period). In the case of all the three images the leaf-circlet is represented by an uṣṇīṣa-lotus. All the three images have short inscriptions.

§ 111. The Images Nos. 75-79 form a group. With the exception of the last piece, all the images are characterized by unusually thick curls. In contrast to the other images the first piece has rather small and summarily executed cāmara-bearers The Images Nos. 75-77 belong to Wall-Section XIII (Figs 117, 100 left, 100 right) In the case of No. 75 the upper part is damaged but the head is intact. No. 77 represents Pārśva As in the case of No 73, the snake and the attendant-figures are reproduced according to the normal ("typical") formula. It is however worthy of note that the coils do not recede inwards below the hands. — The Images Nos. 78 and 79 belong to Wall-Section I (Figs. 102 and 103) The last-mentioned image has strands and lateral strands but is otherwise in harmony with the curl-images Nos. 75-78. The discrepancy is noteworthy Like Images Nos. 72-74, the Images Nos 75-78 have an usnīsa-lotus. One cannot rule out the possibility that *all* curl-images of the Fair Class have the uṣṇīṣa-lotus. In many cases it may simply be too small to be visible in a photo giving a straight front-view. In any case the usnīṣa-lotus is the only instance of the leaf-circlet in the present group.

The three curl-images Nos. 80-82 also form a group. There is an especially close connection between No. 80 (Wall-Section XIII, Figs 100 centre and 106) and No. 81 (Wall-Section XVI, Figs 104 and 105 left). In contrast to the other images of the Drum-Style, they have garland-bearing couples instead of single garland-bearers. Both have a bhāmaṇḍala in the form of a leaf-circlet. The cāmara-bearers of the second image hold in their inner hands lotuses with long blossoms, well known from the Tārā-iconography In the case of Image No 80 the leaf-circlet occurs thrice: as a bhāmandala, as an usnīṣa-lotus, and as a pedestal-lotus. Unfortunately a white streak of lime runs over the whole length of the body. — Image No. 82 (Wall-Section IV, Fig. 107) is simpler than the other two images. The bhāmandala is missing and single garland-bearers are depicted.

The next group is comprised of the strand-images Nos. 83-86. Nos. 83 and 84 have the typical bhāmaṇḍala in the form of a leaf-circlet. In contrast to Nos. 84-86, Image No. 83 (Temple No. 12 G, Fig. 111 right and Fig. 112) does not show the smooth jaṭā but a variety of the formula demonstrated by Fig. 357. Image No. 84 (Wall-Section XIV, Figs. 108 and 365)

is similar to No. 81 of the previous group and has also garland-bearing *couples* (compare in this connection also Nos. 20, 80, 87, 89). Another point linking this image with the Drum-Leaf Style is the double-leaf (compare No. 20). The two remaining Images Nos. 85 (Wall-Section XI, Fig. 109) and 86 (Wall-Section XIII, Fig. 110) are simpler and smaller than the other two. Here the bhāmandala is missing.

For practical reasons the three curl-images Nos 87-89 are taken together although No. 89 has the head typical of the Far Eastern Class. This procedure is adopted because No. 89 is very closely linked up with No. 88 (by virtue of the Navagrahas) and because No. 88 forms a pair with No. 87 (pair in the sense of group) Nos. 87 (Figs. 113 and 121) and 88 (Fig. 114) stand in the larger room of Temple No. 13. The iconography of the two images varies greatly. No. 87 has the typical leaf-circlet bhāmandala, garland-bearing couples, and plain lateral zones. No. 88 has no bhāmaṇḍala, single garland-bearers, and the lateral zones are occupied by the Navagrahas. Finally two animals (lion to the left and deer to the right) are depicted on the pedestal of No. 88. We must now consider Image No. 89 (pradakṣinapatha of Temple No. 12, Fig. 115). This image has the *head* of the Far Eastern Class, *leaf-circlet bhāmaṇḍala* and *garland-bearing couples* as No. 87, and *Navagrahas* as No. 88 This is a clear example of contamination insofar as the different origin of the mixed elements (Fair Class — Far Eastern Class) can be established. Leaf-circlet bhāmaṇḍala and garland-bearing couple (§ 138A) belong to the Fair Class. The Navagrahas are not restricted to the Fair Class but are in any case unknown in the three Non-Decorative Classes, to which the Far Eastern Class belongs. Beyond this, contamination cannot be established for the three images. It would for example not be possible to explain the parikara of No. 89 as a contamination of Nos 87 and 88, for it could also be argued that Nos. 87 and 88 have copied different features of No. 89.

Finally we have to mention two isolated images. Nos. 90 (Fig. 116) and 91 (Fig 117), both belong to Wall-Section XIII The first image has the smooth jaṭā (striped) and no bhāmandala. The pedestal-lotus takes the shape of a carefully executed leaf-circlet. The lateral strands are carved in the rear-wall to the left and to the right of the head — a rather unconventional technique. Moreover No. 90 is the only image of the Fair Class provided with a parasol-stick. — The curl-image No. 91 has no special characteristics. The top of the rear-wall has been broken away, but to the right of the head a portion of the leaf-circlet bhāmandala has been preserved.

THE FAR EASTERN CLASS (Nos 92-100)

§ 112. The three remaining classes of the Drum-Style can be collectively called the "Non-Decorative Classes". In all these cases the parikara consists of a few carelessly executed elements. If seated images, Pārśva-images, and contaminated images are disregarded, then the only parikara-elements under consideration are those seen in Fig 121 (left). Since, in addition to this, the differences in the treatment of the body are not very conspicuous, the principal differences occur with regard to the head, and the class-characteristics are even based exclusively on this part of the image. To the first Non-Decorative Class we have assigned the term "far eastern" as the treatment of the eyebrows recalls far eastern types (Fig. 119). A historical connection is however unlikely. As the local artists developed more than one physiognomical type, one should not be surprised to find occasionally points of agreement with foreign conceptions. Other characteristics of the Far Eastern Class are the thick lips and predominance of the curls (the jaṭā is found but rarely). The examples with curls are (with one

exception) old, and we can therefore safely conclude that, in this class, images with the jaṭā are the result of later contamination. Contamination is in fact not uncommon in this class (§ 114). — The images of this class have no inscriptions whatsoever. With the exception of No. 97 and the two images at other locations, all the Jinas stand The images are approximately life-size.

§ 113. We are first dealing with those images which are not contaminated With them can be compared two curl-images from Sanchi and Gyaraspur respectively. No doubt the parikara is fully developed in both cases (refer in particular to the Gyaraspur Jina) but this would only suggest that the prototypes of our Far Eastern Class were decorative and that the non-decorative treatment is a peculiarity of Deogarh. It would moreover appear that *isolated* decorative elements met with in the Deogarh examples are not original but were introduced at a later stage (contamination). — The example from Sanchi is an early-medieval Buddha (Fig. 118), the example from Gyaraspur is an early-medieval Jina (housed in the temple known as Vajra Math). In the case of the Buddha, the lower portion of the image (seat-lotus etc.) can be called decorative. In the second image, cushion and bhāmandala are richly carved; the head follows the far eastern type but it also foreshadows the medieval type (§ 174).

At Deogarh, Images Nos. 92-94 are old and uncontaminated examples of the Far Eastern Class. Nos. 92 (Fig. 124) and 93 stand near the north-east corner of Temple No. 12 In both cases only the upper part of the body and part of the rear-wall are preserved. What remains of the rear-wall is quite plain and it can therefore be concluded that the images did not deviate from the standard of the Non-Decorative Classes. Image No. 93 has an unusually long head. No. 94 stands in the pradakṣinapatha of Temple No. 12 and here only the upper part of the rear-wall has been broken away. In the lower part of the image only an unadorned pedestal and two cāmara-bearers appear, and this is in keeping with the programme of the Non-Decorative Classes.

No. 95 (Figs. 121 and 122) stands in the larger room of Temple No 13 This Jina has muzzle-like protruding lips and obviously belongs to the latest specimens of the class. As it is completely preserved it demonstrates the iconographic programme of the Non-Decorative Classes better than the other far eastern images. No 96 is an isolated head of poor workmanship placed on a headless image of the Uncouth Class (Image No. 28 in Wall-Section I).

§ 114. Of the four contaminated images two (Nos. 89 and 97) have curls, but a "decorative" parikara; two (Nos. 99[1] and 100) have a non-decorative parikara but no curls. No 89 has already been discussed and we therefore start with No. 97, the only seated image in this class (Fig. 123). This image leans against the northern side of the chamber in the hall in front of Temple No. 12. The double seat-lotus cannot be assigned to any particular class, but cushion and bhāmandala clearly follow the convention of the Throne-Frame Class. Apart from the throne, the bhāmaṇḍala is the only parikara-element to be represented. It is possible that further parikara-elements appeared on separate slabs which were lost subsequently It is however more likely that this is an instance of an image with a defective parikara.

No. 99 (Fig. 362) stands in the porch of Temple No. 17. This Jina has a partite (more precisely: tripartite) jaṭā and a parasol-stick. No. 100 belongs to Wall-Section II and has been broken away below the fingers and above the head. The jaṭā has about the same form as on

[1] Number 98 has not been used

the previous image but the partition is less pronounced. The standing Ambikā in Wall-Section VI (Fig. 120) shows points of similarity with our class. Agreement is, however, restricted to the face; therefore this is a case of influence rather than of a non-Jina belonging to the class.

The Partite-Jaṭā Class (Nos. 101-114)

§ 115. This class shows (apart from its non-decorative character) points of similarity with the Far Eastern Class as well as with the Flat-Jaṭā Class. Two images (Nos. 101-102) have the physiognomy of the Far Eastern Class The same is true of Image No. 99 which been assigned to the previous class although the jaṭā is partite. The three small double-images Nos. 103, 104 and 109 supply a parallel to the Flat-Jaṭā Class which also has several double-images (Nos. 118-121). The present class is not defined by the jaṭā alone: almost all the examples have a typical physiognomy (e.g. see Fig 127).

The partite jaṭā consists of two hemispheres superimposed one upon the other. The smaller hemisphere on top corresponds to the uṣnīsa. The lower hemisphere is often divided by a groove representing the parting of the hair (Fig. 127). The design of the jaṭā mostly follows the formula of Fig. 128 (vertical double-lines below, and horizontal double-lines on top). Lateral strands are not represented. The expression "partite jaṭā" is always used in the sense of this definition, although other forms of "partition" do exist. — Seated images are more frequent than in the previous class. The sizes vary from a third to a half of actual life-size. The double-images are on an average smaller than the rest. Inscriptions are missing.

§ 116. The standing images of this class (here belong all the double images) show the Jina with the features and the anatomy of a child (for the seated images refer to the next paragraph). As mentioned already, the physiognomy is reminiscent of the Far Eastern Class in Nos. 101 and 102. Six images more or less clearly represent the type of Fig. 127 (Nos. 103-108) The physiognomy of Image No. 109 (Fig. 125) stands alone.

No. 101 (in Temple No. 17) is a Pārśva with a disproportionately small head. In the case of No 102 (in the porch of the left part of Temple No. 3) the rear-wall has been broken away above the head — Nos. 103 and 104 are double-images each representing two Pārśvas. The first image (Fig. 126) belongs to Wall-Section III. The treatment of the snake-coils is intermediate between the conventional formula and the formula of the Double-Snake Group. In the case of No. 104 (in the left room of Temple No. 3) the coils are not represented. The coils of the single Pārśva No. 105 (Shrine No. 12 A) follow the conventional formula and are reminiscent of Image No. 118 of the next class (Fig. 133). No. 106 (Fig. 127) stands in Temple No. 17. Image No. 107 in the smaller room of Temple No. 13 (Fig. 85 left) is slightly contaminated. It has the pedestal-lotus (otherwise unknown in the Non-Decorative Classes) and a small double-leaf. By virtue of the treatment of the main-figure, No. 108 (Fig. 128) — which is lying amongst the debris to the west of the Rampart — is related to No. 107. This new image has certain unconventional traits. A pedestal-lotus is depicted both under the main-figure and under the two cāmara-bearers. The pedestal-lotus under the main-figure has been transformed into a triple lotus. This lotus together with a small worshipper covers the face of the projecting central part of the pedestal. The image shows points of similarity with the Fair Class (leaf-circlet bhāmandala, pedestal-lotus, treatment of the cāmara-bearers). This is also true of the jaṭā. Its form follows the convention of the present class, but the strands are represented individually. Similar transitional forms between actual strands and the smooth

jatā are to be found in the Fair Class (Fig. 112). — No. 109 (Fig. 125) is a double-image and belongs to Wall-Section V These two Jinas appear even more child-like than the others. The parasol-stick, which in fact does not belong to the programme of the Non-Decorative Classes, is represented. It is however merely incised.

§ 117. Of the five seated images, four form a group (Nos. 111-114) and one (No. 110) is isolated. No. 110 belongs to Wall-Section XV (6th image from left) and has the physiognomy of the Far Eastern Class. The throne is simplified: lions with dharmacakra below, cushion with small seat-lotus above (throne-bar and throne-blanket are not depicted). This is not an archaic formula but a cursory treatment heralding certain later developments.

No. 111 (Figs 129 and 130) stands in Temple No. 15. It is the largest and finest image of the group. Here and in the other images of the group the physiognomy is the same as in Nos. 103-108. Only the head is somewhat broader (compare Fig. 130 with Fig. 127). As in the case of No. 97 (the only seated image of the Far Eastern Class), the parikara shows the influence of the Throne-Frame Class of the Drum-Leaf Style. It is but natural that the seated images show elements not contained in the parikara of the standing images. Such an extension can however be kept to a minimum and does not necessitate borrowing from other classes (see Fig. 132). However in this case the decoration of the bhāmaṇḍala and of the throne-blanket as well as the four-fold throne-top (seat-lotus, cushion, bar, and blanket) clearly shows the influence of the Throne-Frame Class. The inconspicuous lateral strands were taken from the Slender Class or from the Fair Class. — The three other images differ but slightly from No. 111. Image No. 112 stands in the hall in front of Temple No. 12, No. 113 stands in Temple No. 16 and No. 114 belongs to Wall-Section XVI (2nd image from left) These images are simpler than No. 111 They are probably mere copies of it and not archaic prototypes Blanket and throne-bar are absent in all three cases, but cushion and seat-lotus are invariably shown In the case of No. 113 bhāmandala and seat-lotus take the shape of a single or double leaf-circlet which is incised in a cursory manner. The particular type of leaf-circlet bhāmandala and seat-lotus probably belong to the old repertoire of the Drum-Style (compare for the design Fig. 132) The two other images have no bhāmandala and the seat-lotus is inconspicuous.

The Flat-Jaṭā Class (Nos. 115-125)

§ 118. The images of this class are small, of indifferent quality, and without marked characteristics It was therefore difficult to recognize the class as such. The representatives nevertheless do have certain clear-cut characteristics in common. The existence of the class shows that it is unwise to dismiss inconspicuous images *a priori* as being of no consequence. The class has been named after the jatā-formula demonstrated by Figs. 132 and 133. It would appear that the flat jatā owes its existence to the flattening of an earlier formula (Figs. 131 and 164). The *seated* images of the class (§ 119) have an additional characteristic: the seat-lotus rests directly on the throne-bar. In other words, the throne-top consists only of these two elements (Fig. 132). Only those seated images are included in this class where the throne-bar is rendered realistically and not reduced to a mere horizontal band (as in Figs. 368-69). The *standing* images (§ 120) include four double-images. This fact, the small size of the images (one third to one half of actual life-size), and the frequency of Pārśva-images are reminiscent of the previous class. Two closely-related images (one seated and one standing, Figs. 132 and 133) can be regarded as the prototypes of the seated and standing images of the class. These are also the only images to bear inscriptions. The various members of this class are very alike.

§ 119. The inscribed seated image (No. 115, Fig 132) and the inscribed standing image (No. 118, Fig. 133) stand in Temple No. 8. The inscription of No. 115 reads: *gunahari Somemdu* (the "*e*" in prsthamātrā-characters). The linga is partly visible, the seat-lotus is doubled, and a palm-mark can be recognized on the palm of the right hand. No. 116 is a Pārśva in Wall-Section XV; this is essentially a simplified copy of the previous image. No. 117 (Wall-Section IV) has a double-leaf (see § 120 end) and vertical bands to the right and to the left of the lions. This creates the impression of a counter-sunk panel.

§ 120. Nos. 118-121 are standing double-images, and Nos. 118-120 represent Pārśva. Image No. 118 (Fig 133) is related to No. 115 by virtue of its location and by virtue of its inscription. The inscription reads *gunahari Vāvini*. The treatment of the coils is reminiscent of Image No. 105 of the Partite-Jatā Class (no illustration). As is the case with almost all double-images of the Drum-Style, only one cāmara-bearer is depicted between the two figures. The two outer attendant-figures are female parasol-bearers ("atypical" formula, see § 78). No. 119 stands in Temple No 17 and No. 120 belongs to Wall-Section XIII (left end). No. 120 is a simplified copy of No 118. Image No 119 has a single parasol (normal size as in the case of non-Pārśvas) *between* the two hood-circles and not (like the other Pārśva-images) a small parasol above the hood-circle(s) No. 121 (Wall-Section I) represents two non-Pārśvas. The parikara-top has no double-leaf, but apart from this it follows the usual formula of the later images of the Drum-Leaf Style. Moreover *two* cāmara-bearers are represented between the two Jinas. — Nos. 122-125 are single images, the first of which represents Pārśva. No. 122 belongs to the lower row in Wall-Section XVI. It is provided with a pedestal-lotus and the coils follow the formula of Fig 126. Image No. 123 stands in Temple No. 14, No. 124 belongs to Wall-Section XV (third image from right), and No. 125 belongs to Wall-Section XVI (fifth image from left) The three last-mentioned images have no special traits. The treatment of the parikara-top is reminiscent of the Drum-Leaf Style although the double-leaf is missing.

Images where the influence of the Drum-Leaf Style is very obvious were generally not included These are not isolated instances of contamination as found in other classes of the Drum-Style One would prefer to say that in the course of time the Flat-Jaṭā Class was absorbed in the Drum-Leaf Style. Mostly the main-figure was shown in the old fashion, while the parikara was treated according to the Drum-Leaf Style.

UNCLASSIFIED IMAGES OF THE DRUM-STYLE (Nos 126-143)[1]

§ 121. The seven standing images Nos. 126-132 (slightly less than life-size) form a group. Their common feature is the peaked jatā (Figs. 134 and 363) Within the group we get three pairs — in the sense of sets (Nos. 126/127, 128/129, 130/131). Three out of the seven images have the double-leaf, and the parikara-top always follows the Drum-Leaf Style (triple parasol contiguous with the back-plates of the garland-bearers). But broadly speaking, the points of agreement with the Drum-Style are more numerous. All the seven images are mediocre and they probably date from the latest phase of the Drum-Style (§ 97)

The Images Nos. 126/127 (Figs. 134 and 363) stand side by side on the south-side of the chamber in the hall in front of Temple No. 12. They are located to the extreme right and contiguous to the two images of Fig. 83. Not the slightest effort was made to differentiate the

[1] See also § 160.

two images from one another. Nos. 126/27 are actually a double-image in two parts. Our drawing (Fig. 363) is based on the right-hand image (No. 127). Peculiar traits are missing. Nos. 128/129 stand in the south-west corner of Temple No. 16 facing each other. In contrast to the first image, No. 129 has the double-leaf and *curls*. The back-plates of the garland-bearers are however not contiguous with the triple parasol and this is reminiscent of the Drum-Style. Nos. 130/131 stand in Temple No. 20. The second image has a double-leaf. No. 132 stands in Temple No. 4. Here too the double-leaf is shown. Besides, the main-figure and the attendant-figures are provided with a simple bhāmaṇḍala.

§ 122. The five standing curl-images Nos. 133-137 employ the elephant-motif in the same way as Image No. 46 (Fig. 84). However the lotus can no longer be recognized as such as it is transformed into a plain pedestal on which the animals stand. In three of the images, Ambikā and her partner appear as attendant-figures. No. 133 (Fig. 186) stands in Temple No. 8 and has the double-leaf which is missing in the other four images. Ambikā and her partner are portrayed in a sitting position (A. to the left, and the partner to the right) Image No. 134 stands in Temple No. 13. Here Ambikā (left) sits and her partner (right) stands. The head of the Jina is rendered in a careless manner. No. 135 belongs to Wall-Section IX. Here the attendant-figures are cāmara-bearers (cāmaras in the outer hands and lotuses in the inner hands). The last two images, Nos. 136 and 137 (Fig. 136), belong to Wall-Section X. The first image (in the photo to the left) has again cāmara-bearers, but the treatment of the hands is different (cāmaras in the outer hands — thigh-posture of the inner hands) The second image (in the photo to the right) shows again Ambikā and her partner — but this time both figures stand. Apart from the differences mentioned the five images agree in their essentials.

§ 123. Images Nos. 138-143 are isolated images, their only common trait being the fact that they all clearly belong to the Drum-Style The most archaic piece is No 138 (Fig. 137, "veranda" of Temple No. 9 — leaning against the left wall). The parikara-top clearly shows the characteristics of the Uncouth Class. The remaining parts merely belong to the Drum-Style as such. The face is worn away. Enough of it is still intact however to show that the physiognomy was not related to any of our classes. The big curls are reminiscent of a caumukha-Jina at Mathura (Fig. 22), but the head is crowned by an "uṣṇīsa" with vertical jaṭā-lines. Such a combination of curls and jaṭā is not uncommon but one does not always know whether the top ("usnīṣa") of a jaṭā or an usnīṣa-lotus is represented. The bhāmandala is incised (leaf-circlet bordered by two parallel lines). It seems that the image has two pairs of cāmara-bearers but neither has been assigned the conventional location. The first pair appears to the right and to the left of the Jina. The two figures stand on lotuses. They hold cāmaras in their outer hands and lotuses in their inner hands. These cāmara-bearers are related to the female garland-bearer and the female basket-bearer of Fig. 141 The second pair appears on the pedestal flanking the dharmacakra, and this time the figures are female. They hold a cāmara (or lotus) in their inner hands while the outer hands show the thigh-posture. The throne-top consists of only one element, i.e. the seat-lotus. This, and the fact that additional figures appear between the lions and the dharmacakra, are archaic features (compare Figs. 21, 24 and 25). The dharmacakra (shown as usual from the side) is very narrow. There seems to be a trace of a ribbon to the left of it. — In the case of the two elephants and of the two male cāmara-bearers the relief is unusually low.

The Bāhubalin No. 139 (Fig. 138) had been set up as the main idol of the chamber in the hall in front of Temple No. 12 but recently it was brought along with other images to the

Dharmshala (see the Preface). The jaṭā is reminiscent of the Drum-Style (Fair Class). The curved fingers were taken from the Uncouth Class, and the bhāmaṇḍala already shows the medieval idiom. The sharply projecting śrīvatsa and the nipples also betray medieval influence. The image has nevertheless been attributed to the Drum-Style on account of its general character. That the image represents Bāhubalin and not a Jina is not only indicated by the standard-attributes of Bāhubalin (creepers, snake, lizard, scorpion) but also by certain deviations in the parikara. The parikara of medieval Bāhubalin-images does not differ from that of contemporary Jina-images. Here however the parasol is single and not triple. The attendant-figures are also peculiar to Bāhubalin: girls holding the ends of the creepers (compare for the motif *Lalit Kalā* 1-2, Pl. 4, Fig. 4: Ellora). In their lower part the creepers take the shape of a straight tube. A parallel to this is the treatment of the trunk of the tree above Ambikā which sometimes looks similar to the parasol-stick above the Jina (Fig. 15).

The standing Images Nos. 140 and 141 are somewhat similar in their treatment of the head. No. 140 (Fig. 135) stands in the Shrine No 12 C. The other image is bigger (almost life-size) and stands in Temple No. 14 The strands of Image No. 140 are rendered individually (following the standard-formula of the reduced jaṭā: Fig. 357). No. 141 shows the smooth jaṭā. This is of course partite but the image has no points of agreement with the Partite-Jaṭā Class. All that we can say is that the parikara-top which is preserved (in No. 140 it is missing) is non-decorative. No. 141 bears a short inscription of six akṣaras.

No. 142 (Fig. 139 right) leans against the west-wall of the chamber in the hall in front of Temple No. 12. It shows the physiognomy of the Slender Class but is provided with unusually thick locks. This image is more than life-size but mediocre. It can be assigned to the latest phase in the development of the Drum-Style. A few illegible akṣaras have been incised on the bhāmandala.

No 143 (Fig. 139 left) stands to the left of No. 142 and represents Pārśva. It is about three quarters actual life-size, and shows the physiognomy and anatomy of the Slender Class. The jaṭā is however "blown up" and the parikara shows numerous elements not found in the Slender Class. The attendant-figures are unconventional and the Navagrahas are represented to the left and to the right of the Jina. Both treatment and distribution of these minor figures are somewhat unusual. The six Grahas on top are represented in the usual way, but Rāhu and Ketu have been moved to the lower left corner and the ninth Graha sits above Ambikā's lion in the lower right corner. The right-hand attendant-figure is Ambikā while the left-hand attendant-figure represents a defective rendering of the female parasol-bearer of the Pārśva-images ("atypical" attendant-figures, see § 14). The artist has omitted the lower parasol-stick and the snake-hood On the tree above the goddess Ambikā a miniature-Jina is seated. Finally small cāmara-bearers appear to the right and to the left at waist-height (compare Fig. 137).

The Iconography of the Drum-Style

§ 124. Up to now we have mentioned iconographic features only as far as it was necessary for the description of the classes, groups etc. We have now to deal with the iconography systematically. What is described is primarily the iconography of the classes; but in a number of cases we have to refer to smaller units, to individual images, and also to contaminated images.

The standing images hardly have any pedestal-carvings except for the pedestal-lotus; but even this is not found invariably. It is common in the Uncouth Class (formula of Fig. 78) and

in the Fair Class (formula of Fig. 100). In the other classes it is missing altogether apart from a few exceptions which must be ascribed to contamination (No. 122). Additional elements are found on the pedestals of Nos. 88 (Fig. 114) and 108 (Fig. 128). Besides, a number of images have very minor additions (small worshippers etc.). — The *seated* images always have a throne or at least some throne-elements; but this part of the composition is often influenced by the Throne-Frame Class. With the exception of the contaminated Image No. 57 (Fig. 96) and the unclassified Image No. 138 (Fig. 137) seated images are only found in the Non-Decorative Classes. But even in the Non-Decorative Classes seated images are rare (Far Eastern Class: No. 97; Partite-Jaṭā Class: Nos. 110-114; Flat-Jaṭā Class: Nos. 115-117). It would appear that only two pedestal-formulas belong to the repertoire of the Drum-Style (see Figs. 132 and 137). A third formula is only preserved in part (Fig. 123) — Fully-fledged inscriptions are only found in the Fair Class (§§ 75 and 110) and in the Flat-Jatā Class (Nos. 115 and 118). These inscriptions appear invariably on the face of the pedestal.

§ 125. The attendant-figures of the Uncouth Class are not very uniform. To study them in detail would be beyond the scope of the present chapter. Suffice it to say that they are almost invariably bare-headed and provided with a bipartite back-plate (§ 99 and Fig 78). In the case of the unclassified group of § 122, Ambikā and her partner appear as attendant-figures in three cases. The unclassified Image No. 138 has no fully-fledged attendant-figures at all

In all the other cases non-Pārśvas are flanked by two male figures each holding a cāmara (the iconography of the Pārśva-images often deviates from this). For the characterization of the hands of the male cāmara-bearers three different formulas were employed. "cāmaras in the outer hands and lotuses in the inner hands" (I), "thigh-posture of the outer hands and cāmaras in the inner hands" (II), and finally "cāmara/thigh-posture — cāmara/thigh-posture" (III). The images of the Fair Class mostly follow formula I, those of the Non-Decorative Classes follow formula II. In the Slender Class the treatment is not uniform. The Images Nos. 107-108 which are but loosely connected with the Partite-Jatā Class follow formula I as do the images of the Fair Class Examples of the rare formula III are found in the Fair Class and in the Slender Class (e.g. in the case of the three images Nos. 91, 75, 62 which are standing side by side in Wall-Section XIII: Fig. 117). The formulas of Images 57 (Fig 96) and 59 (Fig. 93) of the Slender Class are quite irregular. Image No. 57 has "cāmara/lotus — cāmara/thigh-posture". Image No. 59 shows "thigh-posture/cāmara — lotus/cāmara". — The cāmara-bearers of the Non-Decorative Classes wear a mukuta, those of the other classes are mostly bare-headed.

For the atypical treatment of the attendant-figures of Pārśva there exist no well-set formulas (§ 78). The deviating iconography was employed but seldom and no standard-formula was evolved. See Fig. 38 (Double-Snake Group of the Fair Class), Fig 133 (Flat-Jatā Class), and Fig. 139 (isolated Image No. 143). The female parasol-bearers in the atypical iconography are always bare-headed. — At Deogarh, examples of the atypical iconography are restricted to two classes (Fair Class and Flat-Jatā Class).

§ 126. The lateral zones are mostly plain. Outside the Non-Decorative Classes however there are some exceptions to this rule. The uncouth images sometimes show makara-protomai — the last vestiges of the throne-motifs (Nos. 32-35)[1]. Image No. 20 (Fair Class) is also pro-

[1] Compare *ASIAR* 1936/37, Pl. 13c (seated Buddha, Rajgir).

vided with two makara-protomai. Abhiseka-elephants are found in the Uncouth Class (Nos. 46-48) and in the unclassified group of § 122. Two further motifs probably belong to the tradition of the Drum-Leaf Style: Navagrahas appear on Images Nos. 88/89 (Fair Class), 57 and 70 (Slender Class), and 143 (unclassified); miniature-Jinas are found on No. 20 (Fair Class), Nos. 55 and 56 (Uncouth Class). — Scroll-work in the lateral zones is found on three images of the Slender Class (Nos. 66-68).

§ 127. The main-figure (except the hair-style) requires little comment. As is everywhere the case in Northern India, the seated Jinas have their legs crossed. In the case of the seated images Nos. 57 (Slender Class) and 115 (Flat-Jaṭā Class) the upper part of the linga is visible. The Jina of Image No. 115 also has a palm-mark. Jina-images with the śrīvatsa-mark are found in all classes, however the motif has been incised but faintly. It is prominent only in the case of the unclassified image of Bāhubalin (Fig 138).

§ 128. Curls (in contradistinction to strands) are the rule as far as the Far Eastern Class is concerned (except for contaminated images). They are dominant in the Fair Class and appear with the same frequency as the strands in the Uncouth Class. The three remaining classes have only the jatā. The shape of the curls (and of the section of the head [including the usnīṣa] covered thereby) does not necessarily follow any well-set formula. Certain formulas are however observed in the case of the Uncouth Class. Thus in some images the curls immediately above the forehead deviate from the rest (Fig. 77), and the shape of the usnīsa is often *cylindrical* (Figs. 77 and 84) The strand-image No 24 also has a cylindrical "uṣnīṣa" but this may be due to the influence of Image No 23 (Figs 347 and 348). Generally, vertical grooves are the only indication of curls on the cylindrical usnīsa, however in No. 27 (not reproduced) the individual curls on the usnīsa can be clearly recognized — Curl-images have no lateral strands.

The example of Images Nos. 23/24 (Figs. 348/47) has already shown that strand-images and curl-images influence each other, particularly when they are closely related. Another example is the curl-image No. 94 where the head has the same form as that of strand-image No. 100 (these two images of the Far Eastern Class are not reproduced). "Head" in this case includes hair and usnīsa. The curl-images of the Fair Class often show the uṣnīsa-lotus; from there it was transferred to the strand-image No. 74 (Fig 97)

§ 129. When considering strands, a distinction has to be made between unplaited strands, hybrid jatā (complete or reduced), and smooth jatā A general idea of the various forms can be obtained from the drawings Figs. 343-365. The terms used only refer to the hair on the head. The so-called lateral strands are to some extent independent of the strands covering the head. They are also found on curl-images (but at Deogarh not before the medieval period). All the motifs vary the most in the case of the Drum-Style. The two other styles offer little new material as compared with the Drum-Style. The Uncouth Class of the Drum-Style has the unplaited strands and the hybrid jaṭā, the Fair Class has the hybrid jatā (always much reduced), the smooth jatā, and intermediate forms, the Slender Class has the smooth jaṭā and transitional forms between the smooth jatā and the reduced form of the hybrid jaṭā. The Partite-Jaṭā Class and the Flat-Jaṭā Class always have the smooth jaṭā.

§ 130. In their purest form the unplaited strands (Figs. 343-47, 349-50) are found twice. Both images belong to the Uncouth Class, but only the first one (No. 24, Fig. 347) had a number assigned to it. The second image (a Pārśva) appears on one side of a caumukha in the pradakṣinapatha of Temple No. 12. In all the other cases the unplaited strands were modified. On Images Nos 35 and 36 they were rendered by straight fluting (Figs. 81 left and 349). Nos. 31/32 and 33/34 (see Fig. 82) present a compromise between the formula of Images Nos. 35/36 (Fig. 81) and the semicircular form of the smooth jaṭā (Fig. 358). The semicircular form of the smooth jaṭā is, however, not found at Deogarh Reference was only made to it for the purpose of description and did not necessarily imply a historical connection.

The treatment of the remaining elements of the hair-style of the eight images is not uniform. In contrast to the rest, No. 24 and the caumukha-Pārśva have an "usnīṣa" (24: cylindrical and with vertical grooves; caumukha-Pārśva: in the form of a small bump). Besides, these two images are shown without lateral strands. — The lateral strands of Image No 31 are spiralled (Fig. 350), and the closely related Image No. 32 employs the same motif in a cursory manner The form of the lateral strands of Image No. 33 is seen in Fig. 82. Here the stump above the head is all that remains of the broken parasol-stick (it is *not* the "usnīṣa"). As far as can be seen from the fragment that has come down to us, the lateral strands of Image No. 34 (related to the previous image) are less developed (Fig. 80). Where they begin (immediately above the head) they are slightly arched suggesting an "uṣṇīsa". This impression was perhaps created intentionally. For Images Nos. 35/36 refer also to § 102 and Figs. 81, 349.

§ 131. We call the jatās of Figs. 85 (right), 86, 87 (left) and 356 "hybrid" as they are obviously made up of elements which in reality are never associated with each other. For the sake of comparison we reproduce along with Fig. 356 a realistic rendering of a related jatā type (Fig. 355). Fig. 356 also shows that the hybrid jaṭā is not restricted to Jain iconography. The main characteristic of the hybrid jatā are the *parted* strands which can be seen above the forehead between the strands *drawn up towards the back* At Deogarh the hybrid jatā occurs five times, viz. on Images Nos. 49-51 (Fig. 85 right), 52 (Fig. 86), and 53 (Fig. 87). Two further examples from Jain iconography (one earlier, one later) are furnished by two Jinas at Rajgir (*ASIAR* 1925/26, 56d and 57b).

Whereas the complete (i.e. unreduced) form of the hybrid jatā is restricted to the Uncouth Class, the reduced form is also found in the Fair Class It always follows fairly closely the formula of Fig. 97 (= 357) It is found in the Uncouth Class on the Images Nos. 37/38 (Fig. 83 left), 54/55 (Fig. 88), and on the river-goddess of Fig. 90. In the Slender Class the reduced jatā is found on Image No. 64 and in the Fair Class on Images Nos. 74 (Fig. 97) and 83 (Fig. 112). The unclassified Image No. 140 (Fig. 135) also shows this form of the jatā. In addition, compare *Lalit Kalā* 1/2, Pl. 12,7 (Vasantagarh). In two cases the reduced jatā deviates from the standard form: on Images Nos. 20 (Fig 44; Fair Class) and 65 (Fig. 94; Slender Class). In the first case the impression is created that the Jina wears a hair-net. In the second case the artist has retained on either side of the head one of the semicircular strand-arrangements of Fig. 356.

All the Deogarh Jinas with unreduced hybrid jatā have lateral strands Here the lateral strands and the strands on the head are contiguous. But the lateral strands may be omitted where the jatā is reduced (Image No. 83, Fig. 112). — Images with the unreduced form of the jaṭā have no "uṣnīsa". But where we expect the "usnīsa" to be, the strands are slightly raised, perhaps as a substitute for the uṣṇīṣa. However, amongst the images with the reduced form of

the jaṭā there are cases where there is no trace of the "uṣṇīṣa" (Fig. 88 in contrast to Fig. 112).

§ 132. In a number of cases the strands are rendered in very low relief and occasionally they are only indicated by incised double-lines[1]. We refer to all these cases by the term "smooth jaṭā". The smooth jaṭā has again several formulas, differing not only with regard to the pattern of the strands (Figs. 358-60) but also with regard to the shape of the head (Figs. 362-65). In one case (striped type) the pattern will recall the unplaited strands, in another case (herring-bone type) the parted *lower* layer of strands belonging to the reduced jaṭā will be called to mind, and in a third case (semicircular type) the arched *upper* layer of the jaṭā. However in this connection the reference to earlier forms only serves to aid the task of description. A historical derivation cannot easily be achieved, for the striped type is also reminiscent of the upper layer of strands belonging to the *reduced jaṭā*. It could be imagined that the upper strands were closed like a curtain over the lower strands (establishing a sequence like the following: Figs. 97/112/108) The herring-bone type could *also* be derived from this upper layer of the reduced jaṭā In that case we have again to assume that the upper strands close over the lower, but this time with the difference that the upper strands do not become parallel (i.e. parallel if viewed from above) but meet on the parting of the hair at an acute angle which opens out towards the back of the head (compare Figs. 97 and 95). Ultimately it would be possible to derive this particular formula from the jaṭā of the *Buddha* (Fig. 353). Under these circumstances we thought it better to employ merely descriptive terms, which have no explanatory connotation. The general term is "smooth jaṭā", and this is classified without regard to the prototypes. Similarly no attempt is made to explain the different *shapes* of the smooth jaṭā. Suffice it to say that the uṣṇīṣa-like bump is obviously derived from the uṣṇīṣa of the curl-images, just as the actual strands of the hybrid jaṭā may be raised in the centre of the head, recalling an usnīsa Shape and pattern of the smooth jaṭā are sometimes concomitant and sometimes not. See Fig. 361. — The distribution over the classes of the four shapes shown in Figs 362-365 is partly indicated by the classificatory terms themselves (see the relevant captions) The Flat-Jaṭā Class has the flat variety of the peaked jaṭā, the Group-with-Peaked-Jaṭā has (with the exception of Image No. 129) this very hair-dress, and the Partite-Jaṭā Class has of course the partite jaṭā. The Slender Class and the Fair Class have *inter alia* different varieties of the jaṭā-type shown in Fig. 365.

§ 133. In the case of the early-medieval images at Deogarh lateral strands are always associated with the jaṭā. However at other places we get early instances of the combination of the lateral strands with curls (SHAH, *Akota* 8a) Images with unplaited strands and with unreduced jaṭā are restricted to the Uncouth Class of the Drum-Style. As indicated already, the strands on the head and the lateral strands are contiguous in these cases, and the lateral strands are never missing on the fully developed images In the case of the reduced jaṭā and the smooth jaṭā the lateral strands may or may not be shown. Sometimes closely related images are differentiated by the absence or presence of the lateral strands (compare for example Figs. 95 and 96). There is but one instance of lateral strands in the Non-Decorative Classes (Image No. 111, Fig. 129). This must obviously be ascribed to contamination.

[1] The antiquity of this "late" form of the jaṭā is indicated by a Jina at Gwalior (Figs. 131 and 354) which is older than the Deogarh Jinas.

§ 134. Pārśva is shown either with curls or with the smooth jaṭā. The caumukha mentioned in § 130 which shows Pārśva with unplaited strands is an exception. Lateral strands are nowhere shown. For the iconography of the attendant-figures of Pārśva refer to § 125 end. The hood-circle always consists of seven hoods. Only in the case of the double-image No. 103 (Fig. 126) the number is five. Refer in this connection to § 233. — The rendering of the snake-coils either suggests a single or a double body (§ 78). For both motifs there are not too many examples as the number of Pārśva-images is limited and the coils are shown almost exclusively in standing images. The second motif is found in its purest form only in the Double-Snake Group; an image like No. 103 (Fig. 126, Partite-Jatā Class) actually shows assimilation of the second motif to the first. The first motif occurs in two varieties In the first case the coils recede towards the tail (No. 73, Fig. 98) and in the second case they are continued in identical form down to the base of the image (No. 77, Fig. 100) Image No. 118 (Fig. 133) shows a compromise. This image is somewhat more realistic than the others, in so far as the tail of the snake is depicted. Moreover an attempt is made to place the coils to the left and to the right on different levels, corresponding to the zigzag-lineformed by the snake's body behind the figure (for a truly realistic rendering of this motif refer to SHAH, *Akota*, 17a) There are also instances of standing images where the coils are missing altogether (No. 104), as is normally the case with the *seated* Pārśva-images at Deogarh.

§ 135. If we disregard Image No. 57 it can be said that seated images are only found in the Non-Decorative Classes, but even there they are in a minority in each individual class. Pārśva-images are absent from the Far Eastern Class but this may be coincidence All the other classes have Pārśva-images (standing). No. 116 seems to be an example of a seated Pārśva in the Drum-Style, but this image belongs to the Flat-Jatā Class which was under the influence of the Drum-Leaf Style. In the later phase of this style, seated Pārśva-images were included in the repertoire of the artists. The same is true of the medieval style, but there too seated Pārśva-images were not very common.

§ 136. In the Uncouth Class the bhāmaṇḍala has not only an unmistakable form (§ 99); it is moreover compulsory, in contrast to the other classes (only the mediocre Image No. 43 is not provided with this element). Therefore the bhāmandala is here found even in those cases where other elements (hood-circle and abhiseka-elephants) make its inclusion difficult: the circular zone of the bhāmaṇḍala was pushed outwards, i e it ran along the edge of the rear-wall (Fig. 84). Occasionally the circular zone is doubled (Nos 27 and 53). Out of the remaining five classes only the Fair Class has the bhāmaṇḍala, but this is not depicted invariably. Where it is shown it is in most cases a leaf-circlet. Exceptions to this rule (i.e. images of the remaining four classes *with* bhāmandala) can mostly be ascribed to contamination. The Images Nos. 97 and 111 have borrowed the geometrical design of the bhāmaṇḍala from the Throne-Frame Class. The bhāmaṇḍala of Image No. 71 is reminiscent of the Uncouth Class Image No. 108 of the Partite-Jaṭā Class (and No. 89, Far Eastern Class) owe their bhāmaṇḍala to the Fair Class to which they are indebted anyway The bhāmaṇḍala of No. 113 is without parallel amongst the Non-Decorative Classes. The bhāmaṇḍala made up of two concentric circles (as found in Images Nos. 72, 76 and 79) is a peculiarity of the Fair Class to which it is restricted.

§ 137. In the Uncouth Class the parasol-unit (stick, three parasol-tops, drum with hand on either side) is welded into a single pagoda-like element (Fig. 81). — The parasol-stick is

optional in the Slender Class and almost completely absent from the four remaining classes. Image No. 90 of the Fair Class, the double-image No. 109 of the Partite-Jaṭā Class, and No. 99 of the Far Eastern Class (or Partite-Jatā Class) are exceptions to this rule. In the case of Image No. 109 the two parasol-sticks are of course only incised. — In the case of Classes 2-6 the diameter of the parasol-tops is larger than in the case of the Uncouth Class. The whole element is flatter and more compact. The shape varies a good deal, whereas the Uncouth Class always employs the same formula (for differences in the rendering of the parasol in Classes 2-6 compare Fig. 96 with Fig. 97). Apart from these general variations there are a few special cases. In the Double-Snake Group the triple parasol is unusually small, and in Image No. 21 of this group it is placed over the drum (Fig. 37) instead of under it (Fig. 36). In two images of the Flat-Jaṭā Class (Nos. 115[1] and 120) drummer-protomai are represented instead of mere hands. In Image No. 106 the hands are very prominent and form, along with the drum, an element resembling a single parasol-top. — In the case of Pārśva-images the parasol-unit is sometimes incomplete. The double-image No. 103 has fully-fledged parasol-units (Fig. 126[2]); but in the case of the two Pārśvas of Image No. 118 (Fig. 133) only the drum is represented (for a complete rendering of the parasol-unit in the Flat-Jaṭā Class refer to the non-Pārśva of Fig. 132). In the case of the Uncouth Class, Image No. 41 is the only Pārśva to have the complete motif.

Our style includes seven double-images (Slender Cl.: No. 70; Partite-Jaṭā Cl.: Nos. 103, 104, 109; Flat-Jatā Cl : Nos. 118-121), and these are simplified in more than one respect. Only two out of three non-Pārśvas (Images Nos. 70 and 121) represent an exception. No. 121 shows no simplification at all, and this was certainly also the case with Image No. 70, the top-part of which is now damaged At all events four cāmara-bearers appear on the fragment. In each of these two cases (Nos. 70 and 121), two complete single images would be obtained if the slab were cut in two. In the other five cases, only a single attendant-figure and a single garland-bearer is seen between the two Jinas (Fig. 133). In No. 109 (Fig. 125) the upper zone is in principle complete (for details see the photo), only the lower zone being incomplete. In Image No. 119 the simplification is most conspicuous Here only a single parasol-unit with two garland-bearers is represented, and this is shown in the centre of the upper zone.

§ 138. Normally the Drum-Style has single garland-bearers (in contrast to garland-bearing couples) and no double-leaf. The garland-bearers normally appear on a back-plate, characterized as a cloud by its scalloped border. The postures of the garland-bearers differ more (from image to image) than any other part of the composition.

§ 138A. Points of agreement with the parikara-top of the Drum-Leaf Style which occur in a number of images are threefold[3]. In the first place we have to mention two isolated instances. Here the double-leaf is represented but its form is unconventional (Image No. 55 of the Uncouth Class = Fig. 88; Image No. 69, belonging to the Slender Cl , no photo). Secondly some classes etc. came in their later phase under the influence of the Drum-Leaf Style. Examples of this are No. 117 (Flat-Jatā Class) and Nos. 129, 131-133 (unclassified images). Here the double-leaf takes the shape typical of the Drum-Leaf Style, and the whole parikara-top tends in this

[1] The head of the drummer has been broken away (Fig. 132).
[2] In the case of the right-hand figure, part of the rear-wall with the parasol-unit has been broken away.
[3] In other zones of the image points of agreement are found but rarely (§ 126). — Refer also to § 97.

direction. Only the third case is of any importance. Here we are dealing with the influence exercized on the Fair Class by the Drum-Leaf Style in general and by the "Class with Miniature-Figures" in particular. Two images show the double-leaf (Nos. 20 and 84), six images show garland-bearing couples (20, 80, 81, 84, 87, 89), three images are provided with miniature-figures (Nos. 20, 88, 89), one image has a double parikara-top (No. 20, compare Nos. 1 and 162), and one image has a parikara-top of the same form as Nos. 160 and 161a of the Class with Miniature-Figures (No. 84). The parikara-tops of Images Nos. 74, 79 and 107 are also reminiscent of the Drum-Leaf Style.

FORM-PRINCIPLES AND ATTRIBUTES (cf. § 91)

§ 139. Examples of "diversity" are numerous. Most conspicuous are those cases where the images compared are closely related. We have therefore to turn our attention to well-defined groups as they are found in the Slender Class and in the Fair Class. Thus the curl-images Nos Nos. 81 and 80 (Figs. 105 and 100) belong to one and the same group (Images Nos. 80-82: § 111) within the Fair Class. They show remarkable differences however. Image No. 81 has comparatively flat parasol-tops, a circular bhāmaṇḍala, no visible usnīsa-lotus, no back-plates of the attendant-figures, elongated lotuses in the hands of the attendant-figures, and no pedestal-lotus of the main-figure. All the elements which are missing in Image No. 81 are clearly depicted in Image No. 80. Moreover the parasol-tops are taller, the bhāmandala is oval, and the attendant-figures wear short bushy lotuses. — Again the diversity within the group of Images Nos. 58-60 of the Slender Class is considerable. Fig. 93 shows that Image No 59 has a very long parasol-stick while Image No. 60 has a very short parasol-stick Again it can be seen from Figs. 360 and 359 that Image No. 58 has the herring-bone jaṭā whereas No 60 is provided with the striped jaṭā (both are varieties of the smooth jaṭā). The third image, No. 59, also has the striped jaṭā (but this cannot be seen in Fig. 93).

The juxtaposition "curl-image" (without hood-circle) — "strand-image" (without hood-circle) — "hood-circle image" (with curls or strands) within a group or set could also be called "diversity" although normally one would speak of a change of the subject (Jinas 2-22, 24 — Rsabha — Pārśva). As will be shown later on (§ 263) the distribution of these three types is largely determined by artistic factors. This factor is in the present case the desire to create diversity. Thus four of the five images of the group of Nos. 75-79 are provided with curls and one image is provided with strands (following the formula of Nos 84-86). Likewise the principal feature differentiating Image No. 84 from No. 81 is the fact that No. 84 has strands instead of curls. For images Nos. 72-74 refer to § 140.

Even in the case of images which are none too closely related we can still speak of diversity. Thus some images of the Slender Class have the parasol-stick and others do not.

§ 140. In a few cases, a discussion from the historical point of view appears possible. What may be called the *type* of the Far Eastern Class has curls, but some specimens (Images Nos. 99 and 100) show the jaṭā. This must be due to some external influence[1], and in the case of Image No. 99 (Fig. 362) it is obvious that the jaṭā was supplied by the Partite-Jatā Class. — Influences

[1] The term "influence" corresponds to "assimilation in its widest sense" as described in § 309. The term "contamination" has been defined in the text below Fig. 389B.

of the Drum-Leaf Style occur repeatedly in the Fair Class. Here it may of course be argued that our classification which separates the Fair Class completely from the Drum-Leaf Style is too rigid. And if both (Fair Class and Drum-Leaf Style) should have a sort of common heritage then the expression "influence" would not be correct. But the case of Image No. 56 (Fig. 89) of the Uncouth Class is different. The *Uncouth Class* has normally no points of contact with the Drum-Leaf Style But the miniature-Jinas of the image quoted have been provided with the double-leaf (otherwise unknown in the Uncouth Class). Here then the influence of the Drum-Leaf Style on an image of the Uncouth Class is established beyond doubt. — Image No. 89 (Fig. 115) combines the head of the Far Eastern Class with the parikara of the Fair Class. This is a case of "influence", although a distinction between the *influenced* type and the type *exercising the influence* is no longer possible; hence the term "contamination" (see page 136, note) would be more appropriate. — The three Images Nos. 72-74 of the Fair Class (Figs. 97 foll.) supply what appears at first sight an instance of "diversity". The heads of the three Jinas are different in every respect whereas the remaining parts of the images are quite uniform. It seems necessary to employ the non-historical category "diversity" because we cannot distinguish between contaminated specimens and pure specimens (= prototypes). On the other hand it seems unlikely that such marked differences owe their existence simply to the phantasy of the artist or to the liberal employment of contemporary formulas. One is rather inclined to assume that the artist has blended specific prototypes, and under such circumstances one is tempted to use the term "contamination".

§ 141 The list of examples could be easily extended, especially with regard to "diversity". Actually one could write a running commentary pointing out again and again that two or more images are largely identical but show unexpected points of disagreement. Naturally a certain degree of caution is required. Where images become less and less similar it becomes doubtful whether the category "diversity" is still of any use. Similarly it is only possible to speak of "additional" and "missing" elements if the images compared have approximately the same degree of complexity. If one image is generally less rich than the other, the absence of an individual element requires no special explanation. Thus the two groups Nos. 80-82 and 83-86 contain three images (Nos 82, 85, and 86) which in contrast to the rest have no bhāma-ndalas But these three images are *in general less ambitious*. — Again we cannot speak of influence if the features of both, the influenced type and the source of influence, are completely interwoven. This is e.g. the case with Image No 108 (Fig. 128) where elements of two classes (Fair Class and Partite-Jaṭā Class) are mixed instead of forming separate zones.

§ 142. Partial motifs like the strands undergo many transformations. It is true that these transformations are largely mechanical but that does not mean that they can easily be related to a limited number of form-principles. Most transformations stand in their own right. However, sometimes the same technique is observed more than once *Incision* is a case in point. Incision is either a substitute for relief: the relevant partial motif (e.g. lateral strands: Fig. 116) is just incised in the rear-wall, or it is a simplification of the relief: incised lines as a substitute for strands (Fig. 362 etc.), folds etc. — *Lack of organic connection* is another instance. Thus the cylindrical uṣṇīṣa of some uncouth images has no organic connection with the head but is thrust upon it as it were (Fig. 77). Other parts of the anatomy are assembled in a similar manner (e.g. body — neck — head in the case of some uncouth images). Related categories are *lack of connection in general* and *lack of transition*. In Fig. 82 the lateral strands are not properly

connected with the strands on the head; there is also no proper transition between the two streams of lateral strands appearing to the left and to the right of the head. In Fig. 79 there is no transition between the curls of the front-row and the remaining curls.

§ 143. Some sporadic transformations may be added in this paragraph. The Uncouth Class has repeatedly not observed the conventional proportions: The parasol-tops on the one hand and the attendant-figures on the other are unusually small. The Double-Snake Group of the Fair Class also shows in almost all cases parasol-tops of very small size (the *form* of the parasol-tops is however not the same as in the Uncouth Class). Furthermore some Jinas of the Slender Class have very "slender" bodies (Fig. 93 etc.), and in two cases (Fig. 117 right and Fig. 139 left) the head is disproportionately large. — Lack of connection is quite common in the case of Pārśva-images (irrespective of the period and province). Both, snake and slanting parasol, are hidden by Pārśva's body in such a way that only parts of these two motifs remain visible, i e. the parasol-top and the lower parasol-stick, *or* the snake-coils to the left and the snake-coils to the right of the body. The result is almost always lack of connection or lack of transition or lack of proper co-ordination. The problem also arises with respect to Ambikā's lion, as in most cases one part of the animal appears to the left of Ambikā and the other part to the right of the goddess (see § 60).

§ 144. As will be shown later on in more detail (Chapter 22), almost all the elements of the composition can be termed "attributes". But some attributes are found with very many types (different gods etc.) whereas others are restricted to a limited number or to a single type.

The throne with all its parts is common to both, Jina iconography (Jina-images) and Buddhist iconography (Buddha-images etc.). This particular attribute is however not much in evidence in the Drum-Style as most of the images are standing. — The cāmara-bearers also recur in Buddhist iconography. The strands are a common heritage of Jain, Buddhist, and Śaiva iconography. The unplaited strands are mainly found with the Jina and with Bāhubalin. Curls are observed in the case of several types (Jina, Buddha, Lakulīśa etc), and even the usṇīṣa is not restricted to the Jina and the Buddha. The specific attitude of the seated Jina (legs crossed) recurs both in Buddhist and Hindu iconography. The following attributes are however on the whole confined to the Jina: The specific standing attitude (recurring only in the case of Bharata and Bāhubalin which are mere varieties of the Jina-type); Ambikā-and-her-partner, the pedestal-lotus; the triple parasol; drum-and-drummer (in the Drum-Style-normally only the two hands of the drummer are visible). The Navagrahas (as found occasionally in the Drum-Style and in the Drum-Leaf Style) seem also to be absent from other types. The West Indian bronze Jinas show this attribute in the majority of cases. — For the triad "Pārśva, Ṛṣabha, normal Jina" refer to § 139 and to § 263 below.

§ 145. In this the last paragraph of the Chapter we shall mention such cases where the form-principles have affected the attributes (presence or absence of an attribute, character of an attribute). — The abhiṣeka-elephants have been transferred to the Jina from the goddess Lakṣmī (Figs. 136-37). In Fig. 96 the right-hand cāmara-bearer[1] has obviously borrowed one leaf (more precisely one half of the double-leaf) from the Navagrahas which appear in the

[1] On the left nothing can be seen because the stone has been worn away.

upper section of the composition A representation of Gaṅgā (belonging in fact to the Drum-Style) shows the reduced jaṭā (Fig. 90 and § 106). Some standing Jinas have makara-protomai at their sides, and these protomai have been derived from the throne of the seated Jinas (Figs. 44, 80, 82). In Fig. 128, the pedestal-lotuses have been transferred from the Jina to the cāmara-bearers. The usnīsa-lotus is normally found with curl-images and not with strand-images. Strand-images with uṣnīsa-lotus may therefore be regarded as instances of transfer (Fig. 97). — Buddha and Jina are connected by "sibling-relationship". Therefore the question of transfer does not arise *in this case*. It can however be said that the jaṭā of Ṛṣabha is derived from Śiva. — Occasionally attributes have been assimilated to one another. In Fig. 96 the form of the throne-blanket is similar to the form of the seat-lotus. In the same image we observe objects which are midway between lotus and broom. The various shapes of the smooth jaṭā show the influence of the curl-images (Figs. 362-65), and an uṣnīṣa-like element ("uṣṇīṣa") can be observed in various types of strand-images (Figs. 44, 347, 362 etc.).

CHAPTER TEN

THE DRUM-LEAF STYLE

§ 146. The relationship of this style with the Drum-Style has been discussed in § 97, whereas the internal classification of the Drum-Leaf Style is apparent from Fig. 333. In order that the term "class" should not lose its specific meaning we have used it only twice in this classification. The other subdivisions are called "sections". These sections are less uniform than the classes. — The iconography of the Drum-Leaf Style is more varied than the iconography of the Drum-Style in so far as rich and poor images coexist. In general the images of the second subdivision are poorer than those of the first, and the images of the third subdivision are poorer than those of the second. However there is no clear-cut line of demarcation. We have therefore not departed from the procedure adopted in the previous chapter and have treated the iconography as one. — The images are more dispersed than in the previous style. An exception is furnished by the five throne-frame images in Temple No 15. The concentration of throne-frame images in Wall-Sections XI/XII and of late seated images of the Drum-Leaf Style in Wall-Sections XV/XVI is probably the result of modern restoration-work and need not reflect any original arrangement. A few short inscriptions are found in the Section of the Plain Images (§ 157). Apart from this only a few illegible aksaras appear here and there. — The drum-leaf images Nos. 1, 13, and 14 have already been discussed in Chapter 7. Here they have only been taken into consideration in the description of the iconography (see §§ 164-173)

The Throne-Frame Class
(Images Nos. 13, 14, 144-159 A)

§ 147. The term "Throne-Frame Class" has been chosen with regard to the pilasters and lateral animals which are reminiscent of the old throne-frames (§ 9) and which are restricted to this class as far as the early-medieval images at Deogarh are concerned The animals are *never* missing in this class, whereas the pilasters do not appear in the Garland-Cushion Group Image No 153 which has neither lateral animals nor pilasters has been included in the class because it is closely connected with Images Nos. 154-157 (§ 150). The absence of the two characteristics is an isolated minus-difference (§ 308). All images with the exception of No. 159 have curls, the strands of No. 159 being a motif-difference (§ 308). All the images of the class are seated. The height varies from four to five feet; only the Images Nos. 13 and 14, and the images of the Garland-Cushion Group are taller. — Leaving aside the fragment 159 A, the class can be divided in three parts: the main-idol of Temple No 15 (Image No. 13) and the parikara-top No. 14, which is related to it; the Garland-Cushion Group (Images Nos. 144-148); the eleven smaller Images Nos. 149-159 Out of these eighteen images five stand in Temple No. 15 (Nos. 13, 144-147) and seven belong to the Wall-Sections XI and XII.

§ 148. The Garland-Cushion Group (Images Nos. 144-148). Out of the five images of this group four stand in Temple No. 15 (Nos 144-47, see Fig. 392). The Image No. 147 is known from Kramrisch, *Hindu Temple*, 64. Images Nos. 144 and 145 are placed to the left and to the

right of the entrance to the garbhagṛha or cella in the rear which houses Image No. 13. The two Images Nos. 146 (Fig. 140) and 147 (Fig. 141) stand in the veranda of the same temple filling the left and right lateral walls. The number "148" has been assigned to two fragments which probably belong together (Figs. 142 and 143). No. 148b is the lower section of an image. It stands near the south-east corner of Temple No. 12. The part above the thighs has been broken away. The fragment No. 148a is the upper part of an image and ends below the Jina's hands. It lies amongst the debris to the west of the Rampart. The head of the Jina is missing. Two of the five images (Nos. 146 and 147) have short inscriptions, each consisting of a few aksaras. The size is 5′10″ in the case of Nos. 144 and 145. Image No. 146 is 6′ in height and No. 147 measures 6′2″.

The five images agree in all their principal features. The group has several peculiarities but the most noteworthy is the treatment of the throneframe-animals. The lateral pilasters are missing as the throneframe-animals occupy the lateral zones of the images, instead of decorating the pilasters on their outer sides (the normal treatment of the motif in this class). Besides, several human figures are represented to the right and to the left of the bhāmandala which are not met with in other images. The special feature from which the group takes its name are the festoons which decorate the cushions. The Jinas Nos. 146 and 147 each have a round head ("Type I"). This head-type may be connected with Image No. 13 The heads of Nos. 144 and 145 are more elongated and this recalls Image No. 175 ("Type II"). The group is distinguished from the Images Nos. 149-159 by the height of the pieces and by the wealth of decorative elements.

§ 149. The Lozenge-Pattern Group (Nos. 149-152). Of the two closely related groups Nos. 149-152 and 153-157 the first group employs lozenges and rosettes in the decoration of the bhāmaṇdala, whereas the second group has the usual leaf-circlet. We have therefore coined the terms "Lozenge-Pattern Group" and "Leaf-Pattern Group". It goes without saying that the two decorative motifs are not restricted to these two groups. The terms were only chosen to distinguish the groups from one another. Of the four images of the first group, one stands in Temple No. 17 (Image No. 149; Fig. 146)[1], one belongs to Wall-Section VII (No. 150), one to Wall-Section XI (No. 151), and one to Wall-Section XII (No. 152; Fig. 144). The images agree again in their essential features but all have some peculiarities of their own. Below the cushion of Image No. 149 there appears a horizontal row of Navagrahas. Below this and instead of the blanket two stylized snakes are shown which hang in two flat and serpentine arches down from the foot-band of the Navagraha-frieze. The lower section of Image No. 150 is badly damaged. However to the lower left the sacred couple is seen (in a small panel) which occupies the place normally assigned to a single yakṣa/yaksī-like figure. The image has been damaged in an unusual manner: the upper surface of the slab has been cut away below the hands. The artist of Image No. 151 has represented very tall and spirited lions (thereby the pedestal became higher than in the case of the other images). In Image No. 152 the lower side of the throne-blanket is curved inwards. The "bay" thereby created is occupied by the cihna (an elephant, standing for the 2nd Jina Ajita). — The bhāmanḍala always consists of a prominent disk which is adorned with lozenges and rosettes, and which has a circular countersunk area in its centre (behind the head of the Jina: see Fig. 144). On its outer and inner sides this ring-like bhāmanḍala is bordered by beeds. The Garland-Cushion Group adopted practi-

[1] It has now been shifted to the Dharmshala

cally the same formula but the whole element was flatter and the central zone was not countersunk. The heads and faces of the four images are rather uniform and follow Type I of § 148.

§ 150. The Leaf-Pattern Group (Images Nos. 153-157). The Images Nos. 153-156 (No. 154 = Fig. 145) all belong to Wall-Section XI (we have numbered the images within the wall-section from left to right). Image No. 157 belongs to Wall-Section XII. As already stated, No. 153 has neither pilasters not throneframe-animals. The back-wall of Images Nos. 155 and 156 has been broken away above the head of the Jina. Image No. 154 bears a short inscription on the foot-band of the pedestal. The bhāmandalas of this group are rendered in a simple manner and are not very conspicuous. As mentioned already they consist of leaf-circlets. Heads and faces are uniform as in the previous group; the emphasis is this time on the vertical (Type II of § 148). As compared with the Lozenge-Pattern Group the garland-bearers are lower down. Along with the parasol they form a sort of canopy above the head of the Jina. The group has the same degree of uniformity as the previous one. Differences are mainly found in the treatment of the garland-bearers (these have been preserved in the case of Nos. 153, 154 and 157).

§ 151. Finally there are three images which cannot be assigned to any particular group: No. 158 (Temple No. 8, Fig. 171), No. 159 (Temple No. 23) and No. 159 A (Temple No 28, Fig 264). Image No. 158 has a high pedestal (necessitated by the posture of the lions which are clearly standing). This feature is reminiscent of Image No. 151. Peculiar to Image No 158 are the large cāmara-bearers and the design of the bhāmandala (a circlet of S-shaped or ?-like rays). — No. 159 is the only image of the class to have strands instead of curls (jaṭā-formula of Fig. 127). The bhāmaṇḍala is made up of a leaf-circlet. — For practical reasons the fragment No. 159A will be discussed in this paragraph Only the throne and the Jina on it are preserved and it forms the central piece of a tritīrthikā fixed on the śukanāsā of Temple No. 28 (Fig 264). Apart from this central piece the tritīrthikā will be discussed in § 231. But we may mention already that all its parts except for the "central piece" belong together; irrespective of the fact that the measurements do not quite correspond, so that it became necessary to raise the standing Jina-image on the right by inserting an additional slab under it. Probably the tritīrthikā-composition was originally standing in a temple because it is unlikely that it was fixed in this position from the outset. In Sahni's photo the central piece (seated Jina and throne) is missing, and this is also true of the beam with the chess-board pattern which supports the throne. However the remaining parts of the original central image (back-wall with parikara-top and cāmara-bearers) are preserved We are therefore led to assume that the original *central piece* was torn away at some time or the other and that it was replaced subsequently by a new figure with a new throne. In other words, an early-medieval piece of sculpture replaced the lost central piece of a medieval tritīrthikā. As far as can be seen, the rear-wall with the spiked bhāmandala is undamaged. Obviously the original central piece was carved in the round so that the back-wall remained undamaged when it was detached. Again the present central piece was probably placed there after its backwall had been cut away. This fact makes accurate classification of the figure difficult. Nevertheless the similarity with the Throne-Frame Class cannot be overlooked That yaksa and yaksī are represented between the dharmacakra and the lions, is reminiscent of earlier conventions (compare Figs. 22 and 25).

CLASS WITH MINIATURE-FIGURES
(Nos. 1, 160-170)

§ 152. Whereas miniature-figures are virtually ubiquitous in the medieval period, they are much less common in the early-medieval period. There are but sporadic instances of these in the Drum-Style (§ 126) and they appear more frequently only in the Drum-Leaf Style. This fact supplies additional evidence for the unity of the Drum-Leaf Style and shows at the same time some sort of connection between the Drum-Leaf Style and the Medieval Style. Now, the miniature-figures are almost absent from the early seated images of the Drum-Leaf Style (Throne-Frame Class, Section of the Simple Images), the only exceptions being Nos. 13 and 149 of the Throne-Frame Class. They are however found on early *standing* images (all, with the exception of two specimens, colossal images), and these will be discussed together in §§ 152-155. On later images (both standing and seated) miniature-Jinas are a common occurrence. The present class (if class it can be called) consists principally of two related groups which differ mainly in the treatment of the heads and of the features: Nos. 160-164 (Curl-Group) and Nos. 165-168 (Strand-Group). To this has to be added the Image No. 1 and the two Images Nos. 169/170 (which are less than life-size). It must be admitted that the class contains four pieces without miniature-figures. The motif is absent from three specimens of the Curl-Group and from one specimen of the Strand-Group (Nos. 160/61, 164, 166). The connection of these four images with the other members of the respective groups can however be established on other grounds. The cāmara-bearers of all images of the class (except the Pārśva-Image No 166) wear a mukuta In addition to this, all the cāmara-bearers which have been preserved (except those of Images Nos. 1 and 167) have a number of features in common.

Besides small Jinas the term "miniature-figure" includes Navagrahas, which are however rare at Deogarh This inclusion enables us to connect the Large Śānti (No. 1) with the other members of the present class. (It also emphasizes the common factor of drum-images with Navagrahas and of drum-leaf images with miniature-Jinas) Apart from the miniature-figures, the Large Śānti shares with this new class certain general features (standing attitude, complex character of the composition, and large size).

§ 153. The Curl-Group[1] (Nos. 160-164) The nucleus of the group is formed by Images Nos. 160/61 (both *without* miniature-Jinas) These two images are almost identical, but we cannot call them a set because the stone is different. Besides, No. 161 consists of two fragments (161 a/b) and the connection requires an "on the spot" investigation. Image No. 160 (Fig. 83 right) leans against the south-wall of the chamber in the hall in front of Temple No. 12. The two fragments 161a/b (Figs. 148 and 149 left) stand behind Temple No. 12 — The Images Nos. 162/163 are also very similar, but the top of No. 163 is damaged, the parikara-top being almost completely missing so that it is not possible to say whether the general agreement applied also to this portion. The stone of the two images is again different. Image No. 162 (Figs. 147 and 147 A) leans against the west-wall of the chamber in the hall in front of Temple No. 12, and Image No. 163 belongs to Wall-Section X (extreme left). Both images have miniature-Jinas but compared with the previous pair they are somewhat pale and poor in workmanship. Of the two images only No. 162 is well preserved. The main point of difference between it and Images Nos. 160/61 is the double parikara-top (compare Images Nos. 1 and 20). As in Image

[1] For the terms "Curl-Group" and "Strand-Group" refer to the remark at the beginning of § 149.

No. 20, the upper part follows the formula of the Drum-Leaf Style, while the lower part (formed by the compact back-plates with the single garland-bearers) shows the formula of the Drum-Style. The reverse is true in the case of the very complicated parikara of Image No. 1. Here the single garland-bearers appear on top and the garland-bearing couples etc. below. In the case of Image No. 163 the lower part of the right back-plate is all that remained of the parikara-top. It is therefore not possible to say whether the parikara-top was single or double. — Like Nos. 160/61, the Image No. 164 (Fig. 147B, standing to the south of the hall in front of Temple No. 12) has no miniature-Jinas. The parikara-top is single. It does not follow the formula of Nos. 160/61, but the formula of the Drum-Style adopted in No. 162 for the lower part of the parikara-top (and in No. 163 for the preserved portion of the parikara-top).

If the term contamination is used in a merely descriptive and not in a historical manner we can describe each of the three types (Nos. 160/61, 162/63, 164) as a contamination of the two other ones. Nos. 160 and 162 (both leaning against the chamber in the hall in front of Temple No. 12) form a set, but as mentioned already they are not particularly closely related in type. A similar relationship exists between the two Images Nos. 38/39 of the Uncouth Class which lean against the same chamber (compare § 102). The heads of the Images Nos. 160-164 correspond in the main to Type II of § 148.

§ 154. The Strand-Group (Nos. 165-168). All the images of the group show the same treatment of the face, and with the exception of the Pārśva-image No. 166 they all have strands. The strands take the shape of smooth jatās with minor differences in form and design (compare Figs. 362-65). The treatment of the parikara varies considerably. No. 165 has miniature-Jinas, No. 166 (the only Pārśva in the class) has only the minimal number of elements, and the two remaining images show further additions besides the miniature-Jinas.

No 165 (Fig. 152) stands behind Temple No. 12 and its top is damaged. As in Images Nos. 160/61 and 164, the cāmaras of the two cāmara-bearers point downwards (in No. 162-63 they point upwards). The head of No. 165 has been fixed on again, but as the line of the fracture shows, it clearly belongs to the rest. — Images Nos. 166a (Fig. 150) and 166b (Fig 149 right) probably belong together (both fragments lie behind Temple No. 12). At least we can say that No. 166b also belongs to a Pārśva-image because it shows the atypical iconography of the attendant-figures (§ 14). To the right we see the female parasol-bearer which is badly damaged, and to the left a male figure with triple hood-circle and with the hand-attributes "thigh-posture / cāmara" (the cāmara points to the left and is almost horizontal) Image No. 167 belongs to Wall-Section XIII. The back-wall has been broken away above the shoulders but the head is preserved. The image shows a number of peculiarities which distinguish it not only from Image No. 165 (the only other image of the group which is fairly well preserved) but also from the other images of the *class*; on the face of the pedestal there appears a cihna (bull) showing that the Jina represented is Ṛṣabha; between the main-figure and the cāmara-bearers stand tiny miniature-figures (a unique feature); on the outer sides of the cāmara-bearers small standing figures are represented which are identical in type with those of the Throne-Frame Class, the fingers of the Jina are curved in a strange manner (a motif known from the Uncouth Class). The fragment No. 168 (Fig. 151) which lies to the west of the Rampart is set apart from the other specimens of its class by its richly-adorned bhāmandala. To the inner circular zone with lozenge-pattern an outer zone with scroll-work is added.

§ 155. The Images Nos. 169/70 form a pair in the sense of group and in the sense of set. Image No. 169 (Fig. 153) stands in Temple No. 8, and No. 170 (Fig. 154) leans against the north-wall of the chamber in the hall in front of Temple No. 12. The bhāmaṇḍala of the first image shows lozenges alternating with rosettes, that of the second image consists of a leaf-circlet. The parikara-top of Image No. 170 is damaged but enough is left to show that it was similar to the parikara-top of No. 169. The Image No. 169 bears an inscription of a few akṣaras, and above the drum a seated miniature-Jina with a double-leaf is represented.

THE SECTION OF THE PLAIN IMAGES (Nos. 171-195)

§ 156. We have already explained in § 97 why we had isolated the "plain images". In contradistinction to the two classes discussed above no common factor can be given. The section is comprised of seated and standing images. Inscriptions occur but sporadically. The figures are one half to three quarters actual life-size.

We start with a set of what were originally nine images. They formed three tritīrthikās in the three niches on the outer walls of Temple No. 15 (see Fig. 155 and Fig. 392). We speak in this case of "tritīrthikās", although the three parts of the three units have not yet been blended into an organic whole. The central image of the right niche (Fig. 158) was removed from its location when a door was made in the back-wall of the niche. The possibility cannot be ruled out that it is identical with our Image No. 179 (see below). The date of the images is determined by the age of the temple which is somewhat later than Temple No. 12 (§ 255). The images in the three niches clearly show that some of the shortcomings of the later drum and drum-leaf images are already found in comparatively early specimens: the iconographic programme is unambitious, the bodies are boneless (compare Image No. 9), and the general treatment is cursory. It is in this connection important to remember that the eight or nine images do not just represent work done "on the cheap", but form part of the decoration of a major project. The series is interesting not only from the point of view of chronology but also because of the diversity found therein The larger the series is, the better the phenomenon of diversity can be studied, and as far as "sets" are concerned the series is the largest at Deogarh (there are only *seven* images in the Double-Snake Group). The diversity is most conspicuous in the case of the cāmara-bearers and the heads of the Jinas. — We have numbered the eight images clock-wise according to their location. Therefore the images of the north-niche bear *from right to left* the numbers 171-172-173, those of the east-niche the numbers 174-175-176, and those of the south-niche the numbers 177 and 178. The Figs. 157 and 158 represent a full view of the east- and south-niche, whereas Fig. 156 shows part of the north-niche (to the left No. 173, to the right No. 172). We have added close-ups of the central image of the east-niche (No. 175 = Fig. 159) and of the right-hand image in the south-niche (No. 177 = Fig. 160).

The seated Jinas have curls, the standing Jinas have strands. The throne-top is complete (consisting of blanket, cushion, bar, and some slight indication of a cushion-lotus). As in the case of most images of the Drum-Leaf Style, the hand-attributes of the cāmara-bearers follow the old formula "cāmaras in the outer hands / lotuses in the inner hands", and it is only in Image No. 172 that the thigh-posture has taken the place of the lotus. In the treatment of the head (mukuṭa — bare-headed) the cāmara-bearers of the central images differ from those of the lateral images. In the north-niche the "lateral" cāmara-bearers (i.e. those of the lateral images) wear mukuṭas, while the central cāmara-bearers are bare-headed. In the east-niche it

is the other way round, and the lateral cāmara-bearers of the south-niche wear mukuṭas as is the case in the north-niche on the opposite wall (the "central Image" No. 179 mentioned above *also* has cāmara-bearers with mukuṭas). In Image No. 173 the simple pedestal-lotus has been made into a triple lotus (not easily seen in the photos). The central image in the east-niche is noteworthy on account of the fine workmanship shown in the head (Fig. 159). This head is the classic example of the so called "Type II" of § 148. The standing Images Nos. 171, 173 and 178 bear inscriptions, of a few akṣaras, on the faces of their pedestals.

Within the larger set the *standing* images of each niche form a pair in the sense of set and group. This is not to say that differentiation is altogether missing. For example the cāmara-bearers on the inner sides of the lateral images of the north-niche are not treated in a uniform manner (Fig. 156). Besides a somewhat more distant relationship exists between *all* the six standing images of the series.

Image No. 179 belongs to Wall-Section XVI, extreme right (Fig. 161). There are certain grounds which would lead us to believe that this is the central image of the south-niche of Temple No. 15: it is fixed in the vicinity of the temple, is made of the same stone as our niche-images, it has curls and raised lateral zones as do the two central images still *in situ*, and the features are reminiscent of those of the lateral images of the south-niche (Fig. 160) On the other hand the image fails to fill the space because it is one inch too narrow and three inches too short. The question must therefore be left unsettled. Note the abdomen of the Jina which is raised so that the linga becomes almost visible (compare Fig 96).

Image No. 180 (Fig. 162) stands in Temple No. 6. The Jina is reminiscent of the central image in the north-niche of Temple No. 15 (Fig. 156) but the parikara is different. The parikara is also more richly adorned than in the other seated images of our section. The single motifs of the parikara all have their parallels at Deogarh, but nowhere else do we get the same or a similar combination.

§ 157 The Images Nos. 181-185 form a group. This we shall call the Inscription-Group because two closely related specimens (Nos. 181 and 182) bear inscriptions which in their turn are also related (palaeographically and epigraphically). Again No 182 and No 183 form a pair (in the sense of group or rather sub-group, perhaps also in the sense of set). All the five images follow "Type II" of § 148 but only one of the five images (No. 181) has curls.

Image No. 181 stands (just as the Nos. 183 and 184) in the Shrine No. 12 G (Fig 163). The inscription incised to the right of the head reads as follows:

1 siddham Ca(m)du / -pūtu Padhava-
2 i -

The double-leaf is *missing*. — Image No. 182 stands in Temple No. 14 (Fig 164). Here the double-leaf is depicted. As both images are rather similar in the shape of the head and in the features, we can regard the difference in the hair-style as a motif-difference (§ 308). The inscription reads:

1 Valabhia-pūtu
2 Vāhaḍā

Both inscriptions supply two names which are separated by *pūtu* (Skt. putra). The first name mentions the father and the second the son who can be regarded as the donor. — Image No. 183 (Shrine No. 12 G, Fig. 166) requires no special comment. Its close relationship with

Image No. 182 is apparent from our photo. — Like Image No. 181, No. 184 (Shrine No. 12 G, Fig. 111 left and 165) has no double-leaf. It is distinguished from No. 181, as well as from the three other images of the group, by its parikara-top which forms a compact, almost oblong element. — Image No. 185 (Fig. 89 right) is the only seated image of our group. It leans against the north-wall of the chamber in the hall in front of Temple No. 12. This is also the only specimen of the group to show garland-bearing couples instead of single garland-bearers. The two vertical bands to the right and to the left are reminiscent of the central images of the niches of Temple No. 15. The throne-top is complete with four parts. The form of the double-leaf is reminiscent of Nos. 182/183.

§ 158. The Group of Shrine No. 24 A consists of three standing images which are its only occupants (Images Nos 186-188, Figs. 167 and 168). The three images are very similar and they also form a set. The central figure (i.e. the one leaning against the back-wall of the shrine) represents Pārśva (No. 187). The rendering of the snake is reminiscent of the Double-Snake Group, but the incisions on the coils show the influence of the normal formula. Note the absence of an incision or a recess between the hood-circle and the topmost coils. Thereby, the familiar bhāmandala-shape of the hood-circle disappeared.

Two images which are otherwise not connected with the group show a similar treatment of the head and of the features (Nos. 189 and 190). Image No. 189 (Fig. 169) is a standing image located near the south-east corner of Temple No 12. It shows on either side a vertical row of miniature-Jinas. The elements of the parikara-top form a compact whole as in the case of Image No. 184. Image No. 190 in Temple No. 16 (Fig. 170) shows a seated Jina. The miniature-Jinas to the left and to the right of the head are placed on heavy pedestals and thereby betray the comparatively late date of the image.

§ 159. Of the remaining images of our section two at the most can be connected with one another. The first image (No. 191) stands in Temple No. 8 (Fig 172). The head is reminiscent of Image No. 158 in the same temple (Fig. 171). More similar to No. 191 is the fragment No. 192 (Fig. 173). The head of No. 192 is topped by an usnīsa-lotus which is clearly set off from the curls. The piece lies behind Temple No. 12.

Image No 193 (Fig. 176) stands behind Temple No. 12. The double-leaf (not visible in the picture) is incised on the back-wall. The features are reminiscent of the Strand-Group (Figs. 150-152). — Image No. 194 (Figs 174-75) stands in the Shrine No. 12 C. The top of the head is conical. Lotus-blossoms are represented on the palms of the hands (a motif which became popular in the medieval period), and the cāmara-bearers are attached to a mandorla-like back-plate. — No 195 (Fig. 177) stands in Temple No. 14 (right room), and this is the only image in our section which is more than life-size. The double-leaf seems to be missing. On the other hand the features are reminiscent of the Strand-Group (Figs. 150-152), and the rendering of the leaf-circlet recalls the Images Nos. 161 and 191 (Figs. 148 and 172).

THE SECTION OF THE LATE IMAGES OF THE DRUM-LEAF STYLE (Nos. 196-222)

§ 160. The images which belong to the last phase of the *early-medieval styles* reflect to a greater or lesser degree the art of the early images. At all events they are not very original. Their relative degree of independence can mostly be explained easily: *Either* trace has been

lost of the exact prototypes *or* the new motif owes its existence to a new combination of conventional elements.

The images of the last phase are partly connected with specific classes (§ 102 end: Images Nos. 38 and 39; §§ 103-105: especially Nos. 40-45; § 113: No. 95, § 116: No. 109; § 123: Nos. 142 and 143; § 158: Nos. 189 and 190). Partly the connection became blurred. Some images of this second category have already been discussed (§§ 120 [Nos. 122-25] and 121). These could be called "drum-images influenced by the Drum-Leaf Style". The majority of the "floating" images can however be attributed directly to the Drum-Leaf Style, where they form the "Section of the Late Images". On account of the wealth of the material we can only select a few groups and a few single images which must serve as representatives of the whole. All the images have one or more of the three following characteristics: vague delineation of the individual elements of the composition, horror vacui (surfaces elsewhere left plain are mostly shown with miniature-Jinas), and blending of parasol, drum, and double-leaf into a single oblong element. The standing images form but a minority, most of the images being seated. Most of the seated images belong to Wall-Sections XIV-XVI and to Temple No. 18 (here all the images in the interior belong to our section). The size is rather uniform and corresponds to the dimensions of the throne-frame images of §§ 149-151 (height 4'-5'). The standing images mostly belong to Wall-Section XIII and they are mostly less than life-size We shall start with the seated images (§§ 161 and 162) and discuss afterwards the standing images (§ 163).

§ 161. The most frequent type of image met with is the one which occurs four times in Figs. 178 and 179: in two cases without elaborations (Fig. 178, first and third Jina from the left) and twice with elaborations (Fig. 178, fourth Jina from the left, and Fig 179) The elaborated form also appears *in Fig. 105 right*. To facilitate matters we assigned numbers to these images too (Fig. 178: 196-98; Fig. 179: 199; Fig. 105: 200) although they only represent part of the material, which need not be discussed *in toto*. This material has actually the character of a class, but a specific common feature is missing and this renders definition difficult All the five images have the smooth jaṭā. The smooth jaṭā is however not a distinguishing feature, due to "diversity", the same type of images may occur with smooth jaṭā and with curls. — The three images Nos. 196-198 (Fig. 178) belong to Wall-Section XV. The last of the three images shows the Jina surrounded by 23 miniature-Jinas In No 199 (Fig. 179, Temple No. 20) the miniature-Jinas are even more conspicuous as they cover a contiguous surface. The number is again 23. Image No. 200 (Fig. 105 right, Wall-Section XVI) shows lateral strands and the uṣṇīṣa-lotus is clearly set off against the rest of the head. Two standing miniature-Jinas appear on either side of the head and two elephants are included in the parikara-top. — Non-Jinas connected with or belonging to the Drum-Leaf Style are certainly not missing. With the *seated* Jina-images we can compare representations of the Sacred Couple (in this period invariably seated), and with the *standing* Jina-images we can compare representations of Ambikā (in this period mostly standing). Our Fig 180 shows three mediocre images of the Sacred Couple (Wall-Section VI) which, from the point of view of technique and composition, can be compared with the images of our paragraph. The iconographic programme is however simpler, no elements being shown to the left and to the right of the Couple.

§ 162. From the great number of later seated images which have no connection with the type of the previous paragraph a few groups can be singled out. The rarity of such groups already reflects the decadence of the phase: the images are manufactured without a particular prototype, as none of the products invites emulation.

Three seated curl-images have a bhāmaṇḍala in the form of a ray-circlet and also show special decorative motifs (Nos. 201-203). Image No. 201 (Fig. 178, second image from left) belongs to Wall-Section XV. Throne-cushion and throne-blanket are richly adorned and both ends of the throne-bar take the form of makara-protomai. The iconographic programme is enriched by two elephants in the parikara-top. Image No. 202 (Fig. 181) stands in Temple No. 20. Its most remarkable feature is the employment of garlands (for the decoration of the throne) and the adornment of the throne-legs. The cāmara-bearers stand on elephants, and small figures are represented to the right and to the left of the throne as in the Throne-Frame Class Instead of the single garland-bearers we see garland-bearing couples. The throne-legs (this motif is extremely rare in the early-medieval style, the only other example being No 204) are amongst the few definite parallels between the early-medieval and the medieval images. No. 203 (Fig. 182, left room of Temple No. 14) has no special features except for the heavy garlands which hang down from the *parasol* and which are reminiscent of the *throne*-garlands of Image No. 202.

Two of the closely related Pārśva-images Nos. 204-210 are more richly adorned than the rest (Nos. 204 and 205) The remaining images are very poor. With the exception of the two Images Nos 209 and 210, all the images of the group have curls. — Image No. 204 (Fig. 183) belongs to Wall-Section IV. The iconographic programme is reminiscent of the previous group (the image also has throne-legs). Note the standing figures in the niches to the left and to the right of the head Also worthy of note are the snake-coils below the seated Pārśva which recur on Images Nos. 205 and 211. The fourth instance of this motif found at Deogarh is a medieval Pārśva-image (No. 296 = Fig. 238). Special mention must be made of a type of stylization peculiar to the Images Nos. 204 and 205: Throne-cushion, lower snake-coils, and seat-lotus are rendered in a way which suggests three superimposed friezes of similar design (all formed by the repetition of an arch-like member). As a consequence the connection between the lower snake-coils and the remaining parts of the snake can only be guessed. The attendant-figures are atypical (§ 14): a male cāmara-bearer with triple hood-circle to the left, and a female parasol-bearer to the right. The head of the female figure is badly damaged, and it is no longer possible to see a snake-hood (or a hood-circle). — Image No. 205 also belongs to Wall-Section IV (second image from right) As compared with No. 204, it is more conventional and simpler in its iconographic programme (miniature-figures instead of niche-figures) Nevertheless the stylization referred to is shared by both pieces. The attendant-figures have the normal iconography. — The five poor images which are also smaller in size are scattered over the following locations: Temple No. 17 (No. 206), Wall-Sections XIV (No. 207 = Fig. 366) and XV (No. 208 = Fig. 206), Temple No. 20 (No. 209) and Wall-Section XII (No. 210 = Fig. 184). Nos 209 and 210 are strand-images. All the five images show the atypical iconography of the attendant-figures (§ 14). The throne-tops of Nos. 206, 208 and 209 are simplified: throne-bar and throne-cushion are replaced by a single band on which the throne-blanket rests. — All that remains of Image No. 211 (Wall-Section IV) is the lower part (Fig. 340). It is reminiscent of Image No. 210 and probably has some connection with our seven images. Moreover a certain relationship is already established by the fact that No. 211 is also a seated Pārśva-image, for seated Pārśva-images are found but rarely. For the treatment of the snake-motif refer to Figs. 338-341.

Image No. 212 (Temple No. 15) does not show specific features of the later images, but is more closely related to them than to the earlier images. The double-leaf is treated as an independent element. A strange feature is that two throne-blankets (or pedestal-lotuses?) appear side by side below the *throne-lions*. One could surmise that the lower part did not originally belong to the rest but carried two standing Jina-images. My photo gives however the impression that all parts form one piece.

§ 163. The number of the later *standing* images is not very large. The Double-Image Group is comprised of the two double-images Nos. 213 and 214 (both in Wall-Section XIII) and by the single image No. 215 (Wall-Section XV, second image from left). In Image No. 213 (Fig. 185 centre) the right-hand Jina has curls and the left-hand Jina strands; in Image No. 214 it is the other way round. The parikara-top of the last-mentioned double-image (preserved only above the left-hand Jina) is disproportionately large. Below the left-hand Jina there appears an inscription consisting of a few aksaras. Image No. 215 has curls.

The two colossal images Nos. 216 and 217 both stand in Temple No. 8 Image No. 216 (left) shows Pārśva, No. 217 (right, Fig. 186) shows a non-Pārśva. The face takes on a threatening appearance since the eyes are wide open. The curls are very thick and the head is topped by an exaggerated uṣṇīṣa-lotus.

The three Images Nos. 218-220 in Temple No. 16 are of no great significance but resemble one another. The protruding eyes are somewhat reminiscent of Nos. 201-203. — The single Image No. 221 (Wall-Section XIII, Fig. 185 left) shows to the right and to the left the Navagrahas arranged vertically. This is the only image at Deogarh where the Navagrahas are represented standing The panels for the Navagraha-figures are counter-sunk as in Images Nos. 88 and 89. The lower right panel with Rāhu and Ketu is treated in the same way as in No. 88 (Fig. 114). The cāmara of the right-hand cāmara-bearer is curved like a vegetable object. On the pedestal there appears an inscription of a few aksaras. — No. 222 also belongs to Wall-Section XIII. One half of it can still be recognized in Fig. 185 (extreme right, compare also *Distinction*, Fig. 15) Here the seated miniature-Jinas to the left and to the right are seated in pairs, a feature not met with elsewhere. The double-leaf is unusually big and heavy. It is depicted *before* the parasol instead of at the sides (compare Figs. 164 and 166). The pedestal carries a very small inscription.

THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE DRUM-LEAF STYLE

§ 164. In order to avoid unnecessary repetition the complex Images Nos 1, 13 and 14 will only be mentioned where the occasion warrants this The reader is therefore referred to the exhaustive description in Chapter 7. The later images not referred to in this chapter can be ignored as their iconographic programme does not show any new elements.

As a rule, the central part of the pedestal projects. This is particularly true of the seated images, where specimens without projection are of inferior quality. In the case of the seated images the projecting central part consists of the throne whereas it is more or less plain in the case of the standing images. Similarly the lateral zones of the seated images are occupied by yaksa/yakṣī-like figures, whereas the corresponding parts of the standing images are normally unadorned. But the two *standing* Images Nos. 162 (Fig. 147) and 169 have an adorant on either side, and the lateral zones of a *seated* image (Fig. 178, extreme right) are filled with miniature-Jinas. Where yakṣa/yakṣī-like figures are represented, Ambikā is especially

common (Image No. 151: seated; unnumbered image following the type of § 161 and belonging to Wall-Section XV: standing). As a rule these figures just as the corresponding figures of the Uncouth Class and of the Throne-Frame Class are depicted as standing. In No. 150 the Sacred Couple is represented (on the left-hand side). In the fragment No. 148b (Fig. 143) the relevant figures are very sturdy and comparatively large. — The projection of the standing images is sometimes decorated with a pedestal-lotus. An example for this is supplied by Fig. 168 (faintly incised pedestal-lotus of the central image). In one case a *triple* lotus is shown (No. 173 = Fig. 156 left).

Some of the images have short inscriptions (most of them consisting only of a few akṣaras). These inscriptions generally appear on the pedestals (in the case of seated images on the foot-band of the pedestal). The cihna is found with a few images of the Throne-Frame Class where it is normally incised on the foot-band. Thus Image No. 145 has a conch, the cihna of the 22nd Jina Aristanemi. In two cases (Images No. 149 = Fig. 146, and No. 152 = Fig. 144) the cihna is depicted in high relief and appears on the throne itself. Image No. 149 has the deer-cihna (16th Jina Śānti). This must be distinguished from the double-deer which occurs both on Buddhas and on Jina-Images without regard to the individuality of the main-figure. Image No. 152 has an elephant-cihna (2nd Jina Ajita). The animal stands on a lotus-blossom which has been placed on the upper edge of the dharmacakra. Outside the Throne-Frame Class there are only sporadic instances of cursorily incised cihnas.

§ 165. The lower part of the throne consists of the two lions with the dharmacakra between them The lions always have their backs turned on each other. The heads face the observer or are slightly turned inwards. The lions are represented in a crouching rather than in a rampant posture The lions of the Images Nos. 147 (Fig. 141) and 158 (Fig. 171) actually stand. Both the lions and the throne in general are depicted in rather low relief. Exceptions to this rule are only found in the Throne-Frame Class (see e.g. Fig. 143). Normally, the lower border of the throne-blanket touches the upper edge of the dharmacakra. This is however not true of the unconventional Images of Figs. 146 (no throne-blanket) and 144. The throne-blanket never conceals the dharmacakra. If the blanket hangs down a long way, the dharmacakra is correspondingly smaller (Fig. 178, 2nd image from left). If the blanket is missing, the dharmacakra is comparatively large (No. 180 = Fig 162). The dharmacakra-ribbons are omitted if there is little space between the dharmacakra and the lions (No. 152 = Fig. 144). Otherwise the two double-ribbons are clearly represented (No. 146 = Fig. 140).

The upper part of the throne consists of long and narrow horizontal members which are often assimilated to one another. In a fine specimen like No. 146 (Fig. 140) all the four members (throne-bar, blanket, cushion, cushion-lotus) are rendered independently; but in the case of the poorer specimens the differences often have become blurred and defective representations are found here and there. An example for this is the third image from the left in Fig. 178. Here the cushion-lotus is missing completely, the cushion is similar to the bar, and the blanket does not hang down to its full extent. See also Figs. 206, 366-71. An unusual feature is presented by the two Images Nos. 204 (Fig. 183) and 205, where the throne-top has been enlarged by an additional element (snake-coils). The specific type of assimilation obtaining in these two cases has already been described. A quite different employment of the snake-coils below the seated Jina is found on the fragment No. 211 (Fig. 340). Here the artist even departed from the normal lay-out of the pedestal in order to accommodate the snake-coils.

The quadruple throne-top already occurs on early Akota images (SHAH, *Akota*, 22; lotus

below instead of on the cushion). At *Deogarh* the quadruple formula is the forerunner of the medieval formula, whereas the simpler formulas of the Drum-Style (compare Figs. 132 and 137) disappeared in the course of time.

The elements of the representation differ in their form and in the degree of artistry. For example in Figs. 140 and 141 as well as in Fig. 178 (second image from the left) the throne-bar appears in a more artistic form than elsewhere. The Images Nos. 202 (Fig. 181) and 204 (Fig 183) differ from the rest in that the throne-legs are shown. The throne-blanket can be replaced by a seat-lotus (Figs. 367-70). The blanket is richly decorated in Figs. 140 and 141, doubled in Fig. 29 (one blanket below and one on the cushion), and it is unconventional in Figs. 144 and 146. Occasionally throne-blanket and cushion-lotus are brought together to form an integral whole. This is the case in No. 180 (Fig. 162) and in No. 223 (Fig. 187). Here, cushion-lotus and throne-blanket are placed one upon the other and the respective borders form concentric semicircles. In No. 180 the combined element rests on (!) the cushion, whereas in No. 223 it is placed on the throne-bar, the cushion not being represented — The visible part of the blanket (i.e. the part which normally hangs down over the throne-bar) takes the form of a more or less flattened segment of a circle and is thereby related in form to a seat-lotus. Some blankets already show in a more or less clear manner the medieval fold-formula (Fig. 144 [fold-formula doubled]; Fig 178, second image from left). The fold-formula in itself is nothing new (Fig. 132 and SHAH, *Akota*, 27b: "fold"-like stylization of the seat-lotus), but in the context of our material it is on the whole a late formula and the forerunner of a medieval formula (perhaps we can speak here, and in the case of the throne-top, of a delayed change-over). — For the decoration of the cushion various motifs were employed, garlands being predominant (Garland-Cushion Group: Figs. 140, 141 and 143) In one case (Fig. 181) the garlands appear in front of the cushion as a separate element. The cushion-lotus is in most cases only faintly indicated (Fig. 145), and often it is omitted altogether (all the images in Fig. 178). In the Garland-Cushion Group the cushion-lotus stands out in relatively high relief (see in particular Figs. 140 and 143), and in No 13 (Figs 28 and 29) it takes the unconventional form of a tiny and delicate blossom in the centre of the upper throne-blanket.

As the throne-top consists of several similar elements, differences in the treatment as they occur on different images can easily be overlooked (cf. Figs. 366-371)

§ 166. The cāmara-bearers appear to the right and to the left of the Jina. Images with tripartite pedestal have contiguous lateral zones. The lateral panels of the pedestals of the seated images are mostly very narrow, and as a consequence the cāmara-bearers above are in close proximity with the main-figure (Fig. 140 etc.). For the head-dress (mukuta *or* bare-headed) no definite rule can be laid down (in the *classes* of the Drum-Style the head-dress was more or less uniform). The artist was at liberty to represent cāmara-bearers with mukuta or bare-headed. Often both renderings were employed in the same group for the sake of diversity Compare Fig. 140 with Fig. 141; compare the lateral images and the central image in Fig. 157. The jaṭā-like treatment of the hair in the group of Temple No. 24 A is unconventional (refer in particular to the cāmara-bearer on the extreme left in Fig. 168 whose hair-style differs from that of the other three cāmara-bearers). A rare feature is the addition of two small figures to the left and to the right of the cāmara-bearers in the standing Image No. 167. In most images of the Throne-Frame Class and in some later seated images the cāmara-bearers stand on small pedestals. The pedestal is a rare variant of the lotus-motif in the case of Figs. 140 and 141; it is

an elephant-protome in the case of Figs. 144 and 145; a triple lotus in the case of Fig. 146; a small corbel in the case of Fig. 178 (second image from left) and Fig. 30. — Like the head-attributes, the hand-attributes are not uniform. Different formulas are met with within one and the same group. Seven of the eight niche-images of Temple No 15 have the formula "cāmaras in the outer hands — lotuses in the inner hands", but in one instance (Fig. 156, No. 172) the outer hands hold cāmaras while the inner hands show the thigh-posture. The latter formula is also found in Image No 179 (Fig. 161) which may be the missing ninth niche-image. The case of the five images of the Leaf-Pattern Group is similar; these show with one exception (No. 154 = Fig. 145) the formula "thigh-posture of the outer hands — cāmaras in the inner hands". Only No. 154 has the formula "cāmaras in the outer hands — lotuses in the inner hands". Three images of the Garland-Cushion Group have the formula "cāmaras in the outer hands — lotuses in the inner hands" (Nos. 144, 146, 147; Figs. 140/141) and two (No. 148a [= Fig. 142] and No 145) have the formula "thigh-posture of the outer hands — cāmaras in the inner hands". The two last-mentioned formulas are the commonest in the Drum-Leaf Style. Ultimately we arrive at two basic formulas: "cāmaras in the outer hands — lotuses in the inner hands" and "cāmara plus thigh-posture". The second formula is made up of several sub-formulas[1]. We mentioned already "cāmaras in the outer hands — thigh-posture of the inner hands" and *vice versa*. There is yet a third sub-formula which is asymmetrical: "cāmara — thigh-posture, cāmara — thigh-posture" (Nos. 13 = Fig. 28; 151; 152 = Fig. 144; 158 = Fig 171). Three images show "cāmara — lotus, cāmara — lotus" (the two standing Images Nos. 169/170 = Figs. 153/154, and a late seated image belonging to Wall-Section XIII: second image from right). This is however an exception. Normally lotus and cāmara are employed according to the "basic" formula, so that it does not become necessary to speak of different sub-formulas.

§ 167. Above the cāmara-bearers the lateral zones of the earlier images are either plain or decorated The decoration consists of throneframe-animals in the case of seated Jinas (§§ 147 foll.) and of miniature-Jinas in the case of standing Jinas (§§ 152 foll.) This rule does of course not apply to the two complex Images Nos. 1 and 13 described above. In Fig. 162 (seated Jina) three miniature-Jinas (one standing and two seated) are represented above each cāmara-bearer — Image No. 149 (Fig 146) shows the Navagrahas at an unexpected location: They form a horizontal row below the throne-cushion.

In the late phase no changes occur in the case of the *standing* Jinas. Image No. 221 (Fig. 185 left) is the only specimen to show vertical rows of Navagrahas. In the *seated* images the throne-frame-animals are almost completely absent (one exception: Wall-Section XIII, second image from the right) On the other hand, miniature-Jinas on the lateral zones etc. are becoming increasingly popular (Fig. 178 right, Fig. 179). — All the images of the Throne-Frame Class with the exception of No. 153 have throneframe-animals. Apart from the Garland-Cushion Group they all follow the normal formula: elephant-protome, vyāla, makara-protome (from bottom to top). This is also the basic formula in the case of Image No. 13 although here a lion-protome has been interposed between the elephant-protome and the vyāla. The Images Nos. 144-147 of the Garland-Cushion Group have the usual vyāla in the centre. In the upper corners a makara-protome appears in isolation (clearly depicted in Image No. 147, faint in

[1] The first formula predominates in the Fair Class of the Drum-Style, the second *sub-formula* of the second formula in the Non-Decorative Classes of the Drum-Style.

Nos. 144 and 145, and missing in No. 146). The bottom member of the row is depicted fully (lion in Nos. 144 and 147, elephant in Nos. 145 and 146). In Image No. 148 of the Garland-Cushion Group (Fig. 142) the makara-protomai seem to be missing, and the animals at the bottom (here elephants) stand on massive pedestals like the abhiseka-elephants of the Drum-Style (Fig. 136). In all the five images human figures appear closely associated with the animals. The character of these figures differs from image to image.

§ 168. The main figure requires little comment. Elements which are not absolutely necessary are omitted or reduced (śrīvatsa, lateral strands, and hand-lotus). The śrīvatsa-mark is even rarer and less distinct than in the Drum-Style (and can best be seen in Fig 174) If compared with the Drum-Style the features are pale and much more uniform, but there is absolutely no connection with the medieval standard-type. In the Throne-Frame Class the hair-style is almost completely uniform: all the images except No. 159 have curls. Image No. 159 has the tripartite jaṭā in a form similar to that seen in Fig. 127. Image No. 152 (Fig. 144) of the Throne-Frame Class seems to be provided with an usnīsa-lotus Outside the Throne-Frame Class the number of curl-images and of strand-images is approximately the same, although the type of § 161 which is most common amongst the later seated images prefers strands. The strands always take the shape of the smooth jatā. In one single case (Fig. 166) the strands are rendered individually and one image (Fig. 105 right) has lateral strands. In the case of the later images the uṣṇīsa (or its top) occasionally takes the form of a faintly articulated uṣṇīṣa-lotus (the non-formal interpretation would state in both cases that the usnīsa is just "covered" by these lotuses). Some instances have been reproduced (e.g the three Jinas in Fig 185). We often find little difference between an usnīsa-lotus "covering" the whole usnīsa and a strand-"usṇīsa" (both motifs are found on curl-images and on strand-images). — As in the case of the Drum Style, the smooth jatā is permitted for Pārśva (Figs 167 and 184).

The bhāmandalas of the three Images Nos. 1, 13 and 168 (Fig. 151) are complex and unconventional. The remaining images show three motifs: leaf-circlet (§ 150 etc), lozenge-and-rosette (§ 149 etc), and ray-circlet (§ 162). In the later images these three motifs are sometimes simplified (see e.g. Fig 178, first and third image from the left) The bhāmandala is sometimes rendered in comparatively high relief (Fig. 144) and sometimes it is merely incised (Fig. 165). It may even be completely absent (Fig. 166).

§ 169. The parasol-unit (parasol, drummer, double-leaf) of the later images is different from that of the earlier images. The parasol-units of the later images mostly follow the formula of Fig. 179. There the four elements are blended into a square oblong unit in low relief. The earlier images either have a different formula (Fig. 166) or the same formula in a less stylized rendering (Fig. 144). The latter expression also covers those cases where the double-leaf is multiplied and where more of the drummer is shown than the hands. The parasol-stick is nowhere represented in the Drum-Leaf Style.

The Throne-Frame Class normally has garland-bearing couples, whereas the Section of the Plain Images and the Section of the Late Images normally show single garland-bearers. In the Class with Miniature-Figures the garland-bearing couples appear in a few cases. A special formula is supplied by Image No. 154 (Fig. 145) where an adorant facing the viewer appears between the parasol and the male garland-bearer (compare the four hovering genii flanking the triple parasol in Figs. 34-35). Sometimes elephants are represented above the garland-bearers (Figs. 30, 162 etc.). In two cases the parikara-top is "doubled" (Images Nos. 1 and 162).

§ 170. In § 97 we have already mentioned a few characteristics of the Drum-Leaf Style (elements not isolated, *horror vacui*, double-leaf). *Additional criteria* are the miniature-figures and the physiognomical type of Fig. 159. The first motif is restricted to the Class with Miniature-Figures and to the Section of the Late Images, and only sporadically occurs elsewhere (compare Figs. 29, 146, 161). The second motif is found, with greater or lesser degrees of clarity and frequency, in all the subdivisions of the Drum-Leaf Style (Figs. 145, 147, 163 etc.). Of the three motifs mentioned previously the double-leaf, our main criterion, is found *almost* everywhere. However this element is often very small and may appear on the periphery of the image. For this reason it cannot always be recognized in our photos. It is definitely missing in Images Nos. 181 and 184 (both standing in the Shrine No. 12 G). But these two specimens form a group together with three images which clearly belong to the Drum-Leaf Style (§ 157).

More serious is the general stylistic problem created by those images which do show the double-leaf, but not the *horror vacui* and the unity of the parikara-top (§ 97). They form the bulk of the Section of the Plain Images. We can however mention that the physiognomy of Fig. 159 is widespread in this section. Secondly, experiments resulting in the deformation of the face, the strands etc. as we know them from the Drum-Style are almost completely absent in this section as elsewhere in the Drum-Leaf Style. In other words, the Plain Images are more "classical" than the images of the Drum-Style. See also § 277.

So that no misunderstanding should occur let it be said that there is, in our classification, no connection between the "Non-Decorative Classes" of the Drum-Style and our "Plain Images". The only common factor is the simplicity of the iconographic programme.

§ 171. Cases of diversity (§ 91) are met with in the Drum-Leaf Style frequently One case (the niche-images of Temple No. 15) has already been dealt with in § 156. Two more instances may be added, and the details given in the first instance will even be repeated, to some extent, in § 303 below. — The two Images Nos. 146 and 147 in the veranda of Temple No. 15 are closely related (Figs. 140 and 141) and face each other (Fig. 392). The second image has three elements which are missing in the first image: standing figures on the lateral panels of the pedestal, standing female figures to the left and to the right of the head of the main-figure (girl with garland to the left, and girl with flower-basket to the right), and makara-protomai. Sometimes the form of a partial motif differs. In the case of the second image, the cushion-lotus is not very prominent and the partners of the garland-bearing couples fly one behind the other. In case of the first image, the cushion-lotus is prominent, and the partners are flying side by side. Again partial motifs may be altogether different. The cāmara-bearers of the second image wear mukutas, and the throneframe-animals at the bottom are lions. The cāmara-bearers of the first image are bare-headed however, and the animals at the bottom are elephants. — As explained in § 153, the two Images Nos. 160 and 162 (Fig. 83 right, and Figs. 147/147A) form a set but not a sub-group within the group. Both are leaning against the chamber in the hall in front of Temple No. 12. As compared with the first image, the second image has miniature-Jinas, a double parikara-top, and adorants in the lateral panels of the pedestals. Conversely the first image has a pedestal-lotus which is absent in the second one. To these must be added differences in the form: In the first image the bhāmaṇḍala is prominent, in the second image it is only incised; in the first image the cāmaras point downwards, in the second image upwards. — Juxtaposition of different Jina-types (cf. § 139) is found in a number of cases: Pārśva and non-Pārśva (Images Nos. 216/17), strand-image and curl-image (the two double-images Nos. 213 and 214, the niche-images of Temple No. 15).

§ 172. The parikara-top is rendered twice[1] in Nos. 1 and 162 (Figs. 8 and 147/147A). In the latter case, the "twofold rendering" consists actually only of the addition of two single garland-bearers, but this is sufficient to create the impression that two parikara-tops have been depicted. See also p. 97 (in Image No. 20) and *MASI* 70, Pl. 11 (Nara-Nārāyana panel of the Gupta temple at Deogarh).

§ 173. The attributes of the Jina found in the Drum-Leaf Style are more or less the same as those known from the Drum-Style. There is however a conspicuous change of emphasis. In the Drum-Leaf Style the artists show less interest in anatomy and more interest in decoration. Therefore the number of formulas employed e.g. for the various hair-motifs is minimal, whereas throne and throneframe-animals are depicted carefully and in many different ways. The number of individual elements constituting throne and throne-frame has also increased. Needless to say that the throne was not embellished because so many Jinas *were seated*; it is rather the interest in a decorative element like the throne which stimulated the artists to represent seated Jinas rather than standing Jinas. — The double-leaf, found in the Drum-Style only by way of exception, is missing but rarely. Among the rarer attributes are the double-rosette (restricted at Deogarh to Image No. 1) and the Navagrahas (some instances in the Drum-Style, and some in the Drum-Leaf Style). The yaksa/yaksī-panels (mostly in the Throne-Frame Class) are an innovation as compared with the Drum-Style — In the case of Image No. 1, the throneframe-animals have been transferred from the seated images to a standing image.

Mutual assimilation of partial motifs is common. The example of the throne-top speaks for itself (Figs. 366-71). In two cases the snake-coils folding below the Jina look similar to the cushion (Nos. 204-05, Fig. 183 = No. 204). The double-rosette of the Large Śānti looks like a disk (Fig. 8 A). The right-hand cāmara of the Jina to the extreme left in Fig. 185 looks like a vegetable object. The hair of the cāmara-bearers in Fig. 168 is assimilated to a jatā (śaivaite jatā in the case of the figure to the extreme left, *similarity* with the smooth jaṭā in the case of the other figures). The usnīsa-*lotus* of the curl-images and of the strand-images can hardly be distinguished from the "*uṣṇīṣa*" of the strand-images (Fig. 185 and § 168).

Intermediate Images
(Nos. 223-26)

§ 174. As far as Deogarh is concerned, two complete images and two fragments can be regarded as intermediate between the early-medieval style (or to be more correct, the Drum-Leaf Style) and the High-Relief Style. But the most important intermediate monument known to the author is the huge caumukha at Indor (p 32). Refer also to § 113 Whether "intermediate" stands in the sense of "contaminated" or in the sense of "transitional" cannot be decided here.

Image No. 223 stands in Temple No. 15 (Fig. 187). The head (curls and lateral strands) could certainly be attributed to the High-Relief Style. The upper arms are however not vertical. This would not be tolerated by the more rigid High-Relief Style which admits basically only of vertical and horizontal lines. Moreover the way in which the Jina of Image No. 223 is

[1] It is a consequence of the theoretical bias of the present enquiry that sometimes minor features are quoted repeatedly for the purpose of demonstration

seated has no parallels in the High-Relief Style. There the throne actually gives the impression of a support. Here however one has the feeling that the Jina could slip off the cushion at any moment. Above all the subsidiary elements have no points of contact with the High-Relief Style. Under these circumstances we feel no difficulty in attributing this image primarily to the early-medieval styles. Here it clearly belongs to the Drum-Leaf Style, and not to the Drum-Style, although it is not related to any other drum-leaf image. No doubt the double-leaf as well as the throne-top (throne-bar, throne-blanket, seat-lotus) do not have the typical form of the Drum-Leaf Style. But after all there *is* a double-leaf. Moreover special motifs in the lateral zones are rare in the Drum-Style and normally absent from its *seated* images. Here we already have two special motifs: yakṣa/yakṣī and elephants (to be more correct, elephant-protomai) as vāhanas of the cāmara-bearers. Such special motifs can be found in the Throne-Frame Class and on the later seated images of the Drum-Leaf Style. The pattern of the throne-blanket and of the cushion-lotus also shows affinities with the Drum-Leaf Style. — Our image stands opposite Image No. 111 of the Drum-Style (Fig. 129). There is no connection between the two images but both of them are broader than is the rule.

Image No. 224 (Fig. 188) stands behind Temple No. 16. The previous image was reminiscent of the Drum-Style in so far as part of the composition was left plain. But the new image shows the *horror vacui* and the rich decoration typical both of the Drum-Leaf Style and of the High-Relief Style. The reader will have no difficulty in tracing a number of parallels (isolated no doubt) with both styles, but he will look in vain for any features reminiscent of the Drum-Style. The image is more particularly connected with the Throne-Frame Class of the Drum-Leaf Style and with the *Hovering Class* of the High-Relief Style

The fragment No. 225 (Fig. 190)[1] lies among the debris to the west of the Rampart. The throne follows the early-medieval tradition: the composition is simple, the inert lions are stretched out with muscles relaxed. The remaining elements, and the fact that the image is provided with a throne although the main-figure is standing, are indicative of the High-Relief Style. Noteworthy is the scarf wound round the thighs of the two cāmara-bearers. — The archaic throne can be regarded as one of the first instances where this element occurs on a standing image. The other elements are however indicative of the fully developed High-Relief Style.

The fragment No. 226 (Fig 191) stands to the right of the Shrine No. 24 H. At first sight it would appear that this piece belongs to Image No. 97 (Fig. 123) which has the same breadth. However this is precluded by the fact that the treatment of the lotus is quite different in both cases. The "kymation" (our "leaf-circlet") of Image No. 97 shows archaic rigidity whereas that of Image No. 226 is more elegant and fluent. Note the "corkscrew curls" of the lions (not visible in our photo). The same motif recurs in an even more stylized form at Khajuraho (ZANNAS, Pl 109). The pedestal No. 226 is completely isolated at Deogarh and we mention it here for want of a better classification. — To the lower right a few aksaras are incised on the foot-band of the pedestal.

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[1] The figure "189" is omitted in our numbering.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE RESTING CLASS OF THE HIGH-RELIEF STYLE [1]

§ 175. This new style belonging to the medieval period is more uniform than the two early-medieval styles which we have just examined. If we take the criteria of classification used in Chapters 9 and 10 as our basis we can say that the High-Relief Style is almost as uniform as a "class". On the other hand the number of good high-relief images is large and the relevant type retained its significance for at least two hundred years. This justifies the use of the term "style". The term "class" was used of styles which were themselves limited in scope, whereas the present style (High-Relief Style) is ubiquitous and not just a facet of a larger style. Besides, the High-Relief Style betrays a clear pattern of development which was absent from the early-medieval styles.

Deogarh supplies about two hundred images of the High-Relief Style which are in most cases of high-quality workmanship. About fifty were damaged recently by the art-thieves (§ 21). The resulting safety-measures and the rebuilding of Temples Nos. 2 and 3 meant that a number of images have changed their location during the last few years. In such cases we have mentioned the new location after giving the previous one.

The various subdivisions of the High-Relief Style have to some extent the characteristics of successive stages in its development. It seems however safer to speak merely of classes, for this term does not preclude overlapping in time and does not even imply chronological succession (§ 256):

(1) *Resting Class*: Date-Group and related images (samvat 1023, 1051, 1052, 1095)
(2) *Hovering Class*: Leaf-Circlet Group and related images (no dated specimens)
(3) *New Class*: Group of Temple No. 28 and related images (samvat 1105, 1135, 1136)
(4) *Geometrical Class*: No prominent group (samvat 1176, 1207, 1220)

The images of the Hovering Class found at Deogarh will be described without exception In the case of the three other classes a certain degree of selection was necessary. The selection depended not only on the quality of the relevant image but also on the numerical strength of its type and on the degree of conformity with the standard-type of the class; i e. frequent types were nowhere omitted, and images conforming to the general definition of the class-type received — *ceteris paribus* — more attention than images without clear affinities.

§ 176 The double-leaf known from the Drum-Leaf Style also occurs in the High-Relief Style; but in addition to differences in the modes of stylization the double-leaf is here not connected with the drum. In the first two classes it appears above and behind the drum. It does not project from the back-wall, while the parasol and the drum are rendered in high relief. In Classes 3 and 4 the double leaf is depicted below the parasol or — if it is rendered twice — *both* above and below it In a number of cases the double-leaf is missing altogether. Other

[1] Images Nos 227-250

conspicuous innovations are the employment of the throne for standing images and the complete absence of strands. Only the lateral strands were retained and here a reduced formula was universally adopted. It is however noteworthy that miniature-Jinas in contradistinction to the larger Jinas are sometimes depicted with strands instead of curls. — There are a few big images in the 4th Class but apart from that all specimens of the style are half to three-quarter life-size.

In richness of decoration the High-Relief Style is paralleled only by the Throne-Frame Class. In the Throne-Frame Class the problem of the pedestal-decoration of standing Jina-images did of course not arise because these were absent. But the artists of the High-Relief Style had to represent standing images. They therefore introduced, for want of a better solution and in order to achieve conformity between the seated and the standing images, the throne into the standing images. — The most conspicuous feature of the new style is the high relief. Hence we assigned to it the name "High-Relief Style". This new treatment is more apparent in the case of the parikara than in the case of the main-figure; the latter was even previously often rendered in bold relief, whereas the parikara was as a rule very flat. The new method results in numerous examples of undercutting. Beyond this the various elements of the composition are spread out on various planes giving, like a stage back-drop, the impression of depth.

§ 177. We have now to mention the specific features of the Resting Class to which the present chapter is devoted. As there seem to be no earlier examples of the High-Relief Style we can describe this class only by comparing it with those classes which follow later.

Typical of the *style* of the class is the stress on the horizontal For this reason and on account of the compactness of the composition we coined the term "Resting Class". This is basically the criterion to distinguish this class from the second and the third. There is an almost complete absence of diagonal lines. The upper extremity of the rear-wall and the parikara are straight. In other words, the parikara-top does not taper The supporting elements (pedestals of the miniature-figures, throne-bar etc.) are prominent. The blanket forms a flat segment or at the most a semicircle, but not a triangular lappet. The kalaśa-bearers are erect and do not incline inwards. Decorative elaboration (e g chains hanging down from the cushions) is absent, and the individual elements (double-leaf, throne-legs) are rendered with a fair amount of realism. Compared with the second class, the first class is less sophisticated and less elegant — From the point of view of *iconography* it is noteworthy that the elephants (i.e. the elephants which serve as vāhanas of the cāmara-bearers, as well as the elephants of the parikara-top) occur but sporadically. — There are also images of non-Jinas showing the peculiarities of the Resting Class (Fig. 208: Ambikā in the right-hand shrine in front of Temple No. 12; Fig. 209: Ambikā in the "museum" of Bhilsa).

§ 178. We have brought together five images (Nos 227-231) standing in and near Temple No. 2 under the heading "Date-Group" (§§ 178-181). Three of these (Nos. 227-229) bear dated inscriptions, hence the name of the group. The common factor of the four *seated* images (Nos. 227/228, 229, 231) is mainly iconographical. The *standing* Image No. 230 belongs stylistically to No. 229 and is thereby connected with the group as such. The two seated Images Nos. 227 and 228 are so similar that it is difficult to distinguish between the two. (Condition in 1957:) "Images Nos. 227 (Fig. 192) and 228 (Fig. 193) stand on the foundations of the cella of Temple No. 2: No. 227 on the foundations of the northern wall of the cella, No. 228 on the foundations of the west-wall or rear-wall". The two images (as well as

No. 269[1]) have now been shifted to the interior of the temple. The height is 4′6″ (No. 227) and 4′5″ (No. 228). Both images are damaged but slightly. The noses are of course no longer intact. Besides, the head of the right-hand female garland-bearer of No. 228 has been cut away. The material is in both cases a blackish sandstone. Image No. 227 has the bull-cihna (1st Jina Ṛṣabha) and No. 228 has a deer (16th Jina Śānti). Both images have an inscription on the foot-band of their pedestal:

No. 227 Line 1 jā i sa gro ta Vāpra-puta Dedā Māmaṭa Modo Mahaṇā - - - 1023
No. 228 Line 1 ga-jātya Uhila-suta Bhulubhāi Launagu | sa - - tu 1052

The first five akṣaras of the first inscription should probably be read as *Jāisa-gotra*. Each of the last four names of the same inscription recurs elsewhere (VINAYASAGARA, Appendix 8). In the case of the second inscription it would appear that something has been lost from the beginning; moreover the two akṣaras before *tu* are unintelligible. The actual text cannot warrant the readings *sukhaṃ bhavatu* or *saṃvat*. It is however not quite impossible that we have to read *samavatu* instead of *saṃvat*. The word "samvat" is often written as *saṃvatu*, and only *sama-* instead of *saṃ-* would call for an explanation. Our separation of the names cannot claim to be the last word. — The later inscription is written in "proto-Nāgarī", the earlier inscription in Nāgarī. *Inter alia* the top-mātrā (which is typical of the Nāgarī-script) is more developed in the *earlier* inscription.

The two images differ in their cihnas and in the yaksa/yakṣī iconography (see § 181). The other differences are of little consequence (thus the carpet of Image No 227 is flatter than that of Image No. 228).

§ 179. The Images Nos. 229 and 230 (Fig 195) stand (and stood) in the interior of Temple No. 2. The height is 4′5″ (No. 229) and 4′6″ (No. 230). The material is a pale sandstone. Nose and hands of the seated Image No. 229 and the nose of the standing Image No. 230 are damaged. Image No. 230 has neither a cihna nor an inscription. The other image has the bull-cihna and carries on its plinth an inscription in two lines:

Line 1 siddham Vajra - - -Matuke jāte Gauda(p)ūrvva-vanik-kule | kārayāmāsatuś caityam sasma ca
2 Vṛṣabheśinah || cha || samvat 1051 || tha ||

The first six akṣaras obviously contain the names of two female donors. *caitya* stands for "pratimā" (compare *Vijayavallabhasūri Comm. Vol.*, Bombay 1956, p 76 of the Hindi Section), *sadma* (written *sasma*) for "mandira" The form *Vṛsabheśinaḥ* can hardly be called correct. Probably it was used *metri causa* for "Vrsabheśasya". This would be a synonym of "Ṛsabha-deva", "Ṛṣabhanātha" etc. In our text we have used "cha" for a circle *with*, and "tha" for a circle *without* horizontal dividing line. As the present discussion shows, Image No 229 is one out of five related images standing at one and the same place. It would therefore appear that it belonged from the very beginning to Temple No. 2 and that the "sadma" of the inscription refers to this very temple, i.e. to the Temple No. 2 as it existed till recently. — Translation: "V. and M., members of the merchant-family G , caused this image and this temple of Ṛṣabha to be built. samvat 1051." This inscription is distinguished from the two

[1] The image on the foundations of the south-wall (§ 200).

previous ones not only from the point of view of contents but also palaeographically. It is written in carefully incised and elegant Nāgarī letters. The line of the script is delicate.

Fig. 195 shows that the iconography of the two images differs; but the manner in which it differs testifies to the close connection between the two images. If the general similarity (same height, same location, same material) and the style do not furnish sufficient evidence for the connection, iconographic details can be compared. This will establish that these are not images which are just "dissimilar in their iconography but similar in their style". Rather they are twins where the iconography was artificially differentiated in order to camouflage the basic relationship. Thus the parasols are quite similar, and in both cases a lotus-flower is depicted on the lower surface of the bottom-most parasol-top. But in Image No. 230 the parasol is topped by an āmalaka, which is not the case in Image No. 229. Again in Image No. 229 the length of the lateral strands is the usual one, whereas the lateral strands are quite short in the case of Image No. 230. Image No. 229 is provided with an uṣṇīsa-lotus while No. 230 is not. Image No. 229 has a yaksa and a yakṣī as well as a cihna, No. 230 does not. Other differences are those which are prescribed by convention (§ 188): Image No. 229 *with* and No. 230 *without* throne-legs; pedestal-lions back to back in one case and front to front in the other[1]. Common to both images is the varying treatment of the curls immediately above the forehead. Here not only the tops of the twisted curls are depicted. We can also see the parallel lines of the untwisted hair immediately above the scalp. We have to imagine that the condition of the remaining hair is the same although in that case the untwisted hair is not exposed to the viewer and therefore not rendered by the artist. — The double-leaf is depicted twice in *both* images (i e. four leaves in a row)

§ 180. The Image No. 231 (Fig. 194) formerly stood in the open, to the south of Temple No. 2. It has now been shifted into the interior of the temple. The material is a reddish sandstone. Above the head the back-wall has been broken away and even the part of the image which remains has been damaged (faces of the cāmara-bearers and right miniature-tritīrthikā broken off). A small lion is depicted on the throne-blanket (cihna of the 24th Jina Mahāvīra). The image was until recently supported by a plain pedestal, but there can be little doubt that this pedestal originally belonged to some other image.

§ 181. All the images except No. 230 have cihnas as well as yakṣas and yakṣīs. All except No. 231 show the Jina with lateral strands. Therefore the iconography (in its narrowest sense) of the four seated images can be represented in the following manner (C = cihna, Ya = yakṣa, Yī = yakṣī):

227	C	bull	Ya	abhaya/cornucopia;	bull's head	Yī	abhaya/water-jar
228		deer		fruit/cornucopia;	human head		abhaya/water-jar
231		lion		abhaya/water-jar;	human head		abhaya/water-jar
229		bull		abhaya/water-jar;	bull's head		disk/fruit

[1] The pedestal-lions of the standing Jinas appear in a sort of three-quarter view. Thereby the formula of Image No. 230 is employed more often than not.

The list is self-explanatory. This is once more an attempt to provide different Jinas with different attendant-figures. However this series is a closer approach to the later yaksas and yakṣīs than the earlier ones (wall-figures of Temple No. 12, attendant-figures of the Uncouth Class, pedestal-figures of the Throne-Frame Class and of the later seated images of the Drum-Leaf Style). This statement is based not so much on the individual attributes as on the general fact that all the figures show genuine attributes (in contradistinction to "cāmara", "thigh-posture" etc.). On the other hand, the scheme is so monotonous that nobody would call these figures "local variants" of the later system. The artist just wanted to show attendant-figures with some semblance of individuality.

Apart from the differences mentioned in the previous paragraph and apart from occasional differences in the formulas employed (one throne-blanket in Nos. 229/230 and 231; three throne-blankets in Nos. 227/228) the iconographic programme of the four seated images is identical. On the other hand, there is little stylistic similarity between Nos. 227/228 on the one hand, and No. 229/231 on the other (Nos. 229 and 231 are fairly closely related). This is indicated for example by the different treatment of the physiognomy and of certain decorative features, in particular of the lozenges. The lozenges on the cushion of Image No. 229 are undercut, whereas the corresponding lozenges of the other images are depicted in very low relief. But this is done in a careful manner in No. 231, while the lozenges of Nos. 227/228 are rather crude. Also in Nos. 229 and 231 the "lozenges" on the edge of the bhāmaṇḍala are constituted in each case by small leaves, whereas in Nos. 227/228 we only have lozenges in the geometrical sense of the word. It is especially noteworthy that the two images Nos. 227/228 which are closely connected in their style, in their palaeography and in their epigraphy are so wide apart in point of time. We must assume that the earlier Image No 227 was copied in the year 1052, the copy being No. 228. This happened about a year after the artist of No. 229/230 produced an image which was stylistically a departure from Image No. 227, viz Image No. 229 (this piece nevertheless followed the same iconographic pattern). — An isolated parallel to the head of No. 229 is furnished by a detached head "from Rajasthan" (FRÉDÉRIC, *L'Inde*, 1959, Fig. 305). Finally we can compare the faces of Nos. 227/228 — and the mukutas of the cāmara-bearers of the whole group — with the figures on the lower door-jambs of the inner door-frame of Temple No. 12 (samvat 1051; compare Fig. 196).

The unusual similarity of the Images Nos. 227/228 which are separated in time by three decades shows that a chronology which is based on stylistic comparison can never be very accurate. If we assume that the example of Nos. 227/228 is not the only instance of this type we arrive at the following conclusion: If two images A and B are stylistically similar, A could be one generation earlier as well as one generation later than B If the image A dates from the year 1000, B may equally well date from the year 975 or from the year 1025. The example does not only affect the chronology of individual images but also the chronology of types Actually we do not know whether No. 228 was a straggler of the type Nos. 227/228, or whether No. 227 was a forerunner of it. Therefore take the case of two images which are stylistically different (as Nos. 227 and 229) and which date from the years 1000 and 1025 respectively. If the samvat 1000 image is a forerunner and the samvat 1025 image a straggler, it would follow that the type of the later image is earlier than the type of the earlier image! Naturally the example also affects the comparison of undated pieces. In terms of absolute dating an archaic piece may be later than a piece which is stylistically more developed. The importance of our example should not be overestimated, but a certain amount of time-lag calculation seems to be inevitable in Indian art. Refer also to § 284.

§ 182. The four standing Images Nos. 232-235 agree in one or more respects with No. 230 (we may also say: with Nos. 229/230). The main-figure of Image No. 232 (Temple No. 4) is reminiscent of Image No. 230. The pedestal is however unconventional: a plain feet-lotus with an elephant-cihna on it replaces the lion-throne. The Images Nos. 233 (Temple No. 4) and 234 (lying on the ground behind Temple No. 16) are connected with *each other* by the unusually small cāmara-bearers In No. 234 these just reach up to the knees of the main-figure, and in No. 233 they are still smaller. The Image No. 233 is connected with Nos. 229/30 by the shape of its bhāmandala. A peculiarity of Image No. 233 is the representation of the two leaves of the double-leaf in the angles between the clouds (back-plates of the garland-bearers) and the bhāmandala. Noteworthy is also a bell represented below the parasol (transformation of the motif of Image No. 203 = Fig. 182) and flanked by two garlands suspended in such a way that each forms an arch. The double-leaves of the Image No. 234 are the same as those of No 230, both in number and in their type. The pedestal is plain. The image has been broken into two, a crack appearing below the knees. Finally Image No. 235 (Fig. 197) sharing Temple No. 2 with the Date-Group is connected with Nos. 229/230 by virtue of its bhāmaṇḍala. A strange feature is the representation of Balarāma and of a Viṣṇu-like figure to the left and to the right of the Jina (at waist-height).

§ 183. Some standing images are conspicuous by their breadth. They have more subsidiary figures than the ordinary type, and the throne on the projecting central portion of the pedestal is bordered by two "throne-legs" (Nos. 236-238A). This feature is reminiscent of the seated images. However, in the case of the images under discussion, throne-bar, throne-legs and foot-band serve mainly as a frame of a counter-sunk panel accommodating the two lions (Image No. 238 = Fig. 199). In one case there are also counter-sunk panels for the yaksa and the yaksī (Image No. 237 = Fig. 198).

In Image No. 236 (Temple No. 2) seven standing miniature-Jinas are represented on both sides of the main-figure (in each case a horizontal row of four Jinas above a horizontal row of three Jinas) The main-Jina stands on a small socle resting on the "throne-bar" (a plain band) and there is no throne-blanket Image No 237 is a Pārśva-image in Temple No. 3 (Fig. 198). The coils to the left and to the right of the body are clearly represented and reach down to the feet. The double-leaf is highly stylized (compare Fig. 263) Above the yaksī a short inscription appears on the pedestal. Image No. 238 (Fig. 199) stands in the right-hand room of Temple No. 21. To the right and to the left of the main-figure, 23 miniature-Jinas, most of them standing, are represented The throne is quite narrow and its face forms a square (this is also true of Image No. 237). On either side, two seated adorants are represented between the throne and the lateral panels accommodating yaksa and yakṣī respectively. Image No. 238 A (formerly Temple No 9, now housed in the Dharmshala) forms along with No. 238 a pair (in the sense of group). However the "throne" is still more reduced than in the case of No 236 because the vertical bands ("legs") are missing altogether The projecting central portion of the pedestal only shows two lions depicted in an archaic manner from the side (compare VAN LOHUIZEN, "*Scythian*" *Period*, Figs. 31 and 66). Two plain bands border the panel at the bottom and at the top. Between the two lions the bull-cihna is represented. On account of its low relief we get the impression that the throne is "closed" to the left and to the right even though the "throne-legs" are missing.

§ 184. A group of three images (Nos. 239-41) can be associated with the above-mentioned Image No. 238. All four images stand in the right-hand room of Temple No. 21. In the case of the three new images and in the case of No. 238 the bhāmandala is oval and the throne-blanket (twofold on No. 241, triple on the three other images) shows radial hatching, probably indicative of the design of superimposed sets of lotus-petals. In all four cases the blanket takes the shape of an isosceles triangle. The iconographic programme of the *group* follows in the main Image No. 230. However on both sides of the head of the main-figure a standing kalaśa-bearer is depicted No. 240 has single garland-bearers, Nos. 239/241 have garland-bearing couples. In Images Nos. 240 and 241 the double-leaf is twofold, in No. 239 it seems to be missing. On the pedestals of Images Nos. 239-241 there appear carefully incised cihnas (horse, two water-jars, tortoise) as well as short inscriptions (compare § 237).

§ 185. The first of the two seated Images Nos. 242 and 243 stands in the cella of Temple No. 20 (Fig. 204) while the second (Fig. 200) is again found in Temple No. 21 (left-hand room). Both images have the same iconographic programme. In part the close connection is open and unconcealed (lions on the pedestal), in part however it is camouflaged by differences in the treatment (cāmara-bearers). Image No. 242 displays on its throne-blanket a lion-cihna and an "inscription" of two akṣaras *(Vīva)*. Seated adorants are depicted in front of the throne-legs and *seated* kalaśa-bearers are represented to the left and to the right of the head of the main-figure (normally the kalaśa-bearers are shown standing). The male figures of the two garland-bearing couples together carry a *single* garland. This runs immediately below the parasol. The middle of the garland is thicker than the rest and takes the shape of a lozenge-shaped cluster of lotus-nodes. In the case of Image No. 243 a bull-cihna is shown on the throne-blanket and a horizontal band carrying an inscription (§ 236) divides the cushion The cāmara-bearers are unusually large. — On account of the stylization of its mukutas the standing Image No. 244 (Fig. 202) in the right-hand room of Temple No. 21 can be connected with No. 242. The mukuta-formula used in No. 244 throughout and in No. 242 in the case of the cāmara-bearers consists of four superimposed tapering rings The pedestal of No 244 is plain apart from an incised elephant-cihna (Fig. 202 A). Compare for Image No 243 the two §§ 236 (inscription) and 237 (cihna), and for No. 244 the latter paragraph (cihna).

The Figs. 201 and 203 show the extent of the damage caused to Images Nos 243 and 244 by the art-thieves. Image No. 243 lost its left cāmara-bearer. In the case of Image No 244 the head of the main-figure and the heads of the two garland-bearers have been cut away (the head of the drummer was already missing before these deprivations) Before the photos were taken the broken areas were sprinkled with water. They therefore appear as dark patches.

§ 186. The three standing Pārśva-images Nos. 245-247 are clearly connected with each other. Images Nos. 245 and 246 (Fig. 205) in the Shrine No. 12 H agree in their style and (partly) in their iconography, while Nos. 245 and 247 (Fig. 87, in Temple No. 17) differ slightly in their style (or rather in the sculptor's technique) but show the same iconographic programme. In contrast to Image No. 246 the two last-mentioned images have to the right and to the left throneframe-animals (the three animals of the standard set). Image No. 246 shows in addition to the large kalaśa-bearers at head-level two smaller kalaśa-bearers immediately above the pedestal. Moreover this is the only image of the three to have lateral strands. Although the artists were certainly aware that lateral strands are not compatible with Pārśva (more correctly speaking: not compatible with the hood-circle) they did not hesitate to make

use of this element in order to add variety (mutual differentiation between Images Nos. 246 and 245). This is a case of pseudo-differentiation where the normal conventions are not respected. The hair of Nos. 245 and 246 follows a formula which is typical of Budhi Chanderi (§ 204). All the three images have a yaksa and a yaksī represented on their pedestals.

§ 187. Two images, No. 248 (Fig. 206 right) belonging to Wall-Section XV and No. 249 (Fig. 207) standing in Temple No. 4, are connected with each other by virtue of their inscriptions: both mention a nun "Induā". Image No. 248 is a standing image of the Cakravartin and monk Bharata (§ 14), it seems that Bharata and Bāhubalin are always represented as standing. In our image Bharata can be recognized as such only on account of the attributes appearing in the lower part of the composition and distinguishing him from a Jina. Strictly speaking, the image shows the Cakravartin-type as such. However, a cakravartin and Bāhubalin are often represented side by side, and as Bharata was the brother of Bāhubalin it seems warranted to regard the cakravartin in such cases, as well as in other cases, as *Bharata*. The inscription bears the date samvat 1095. The Image No. 249 shows a seated Jina and carries an undated inscription This image shares some stylistic features (treatment of the parasol etc.) with the previous one. The throne of No. 249 has no legs—the yakṣa and yakṣī are missing. Two tritīrthikās are represented to the left and to the right of the head of the main-figure. To the left the seated central figure has a hood-circle with seven hoods (Pārśva), whereas the corresponding figure to the right has been provided with a fivefold hood-circle (Supārśva). This is also the arrangement on the tritīrthikā in Fig. 264. The Supārśva-motif has been employed in a slightly *different* manner in an Ambikā-image in the hall in front of Temple No. 12. There a standing miniature-figure with fivefold hood-circle appears both to the right *and to the left* of the head. — The standing Ṛsabha-Image No. 250 in Temple No. 21 is noteworthy mainly on account of the inscriptions which appear on its throne-blanket and foot-band (§ 236). The broad lateral zones each have a standing miniature-Jina (centre) and a seated miniature-Jina (top). In contradistinction to the images of § 183 the throne follows the standard-formula of the standing Jinas. The bull-cihna shares its place on the throne-blanket with the inscription.

The Iconography of the Resting Class

The iconography of the later classes differs but slightly from that of the present class. We shall therefore take the iconography of the Resting Class as our basis. This will now be described in full, whereas the iconographic sections of the later classes will merely deal with the deviations from the present class.

§ 188. The pedestal. With the exception of three standing Jinas (Nos. 232, 234 and 244) all the images are provided with a lion-throne. The lateral zones normally recede, and this is also true of the three images just mentioned. There are however standing images where the tripartite character of the pedestal is not very marked, and the throne of No. 230 (Fig. 195) is as broad as the pedestal, leaving no lateral zones. Again the pedestal shows only the breadth of the main-figure in the case of Nos. 238 and 238A. The receding lateral zones of the seated images (except No 249 = Fig. 207) and of the standing images mentioned in §§ 183 and 186 bear figures: a male figure (yakṣa) to the left and a female figure (yakṣī) to the right. Where the remaining images have lateral zones these are plain. The pedestal of No. 248 (Bharata) is unconventional.

As compared with the early-medieval images, the throne-motif of the standing and seated images has been extended in proportion. The standing images are now provided with a "throne", but this has no legs. The seated images (except No 249 = Fig. 207) which had a throne already have this completed by the addition of throne-legs. A few standing images (§ 183) show a compromise between both formulas. The heads of the lions of the seated images and of the standing images of § 183 point outwards. The lions of the standing images are normally shown in a more or less pronounced front view (§ 179). This was necessitated by the fact that the standing images are usually very narrow. The throne-blanket is triple and in rare cases single or double. The cushion is of course absent from the standing images (but compare § 203, Hovering Class). As a rule the images have a cihna, and this is shown on the throne-blanket, on the foot-band of the pedestal, or (Image No. 249 = Fig. 207) on the cushion. The dharmacakra-ribbons are seldom visible, and the dharmacakra itself is often very small (because the throne-blanket hangs down low). Image No. 238 (Fig. 199) adds four adorants to the conventional pedestal-motifs. — The iconography of the various yakṣas and yakṣīs has not been taken into consideration.

§ 189. The lateral zones. The hand-attributes of the cāmara-bearers always follow the formula "thigh-posture of the outer hands — cāmaras in the inner hands". The cāmara-bearers of the three seated Images Nos. 242, 243 and 249 (Figs. 204, 200, 207) stand on elephants. The cāmara-bearers of other seated images are supported by lotuses (Fig 195) In a number of cases seated adorants are depicted in front of the cāmara-bearers (Image No. 230 = Fig 195 right) or below the cāmara-bearers (No 229 = Fig. 195 left, No 238 = Fig. 199).

That part of the lateral zones which is not occupied by the cāmara-bearers (there is not much space left in the case of the *seated* images) accommodates miniature-Jinas in a variety of arrangements as well as standing kalaśa-bearers. All these figures appear at head-level. Isolated features are: kalaśa-bearers immediately above the pedestal (Image No. 246 = Fig. 205 right) or at the height of the hands of the main-figure (No. 238 = Fig 199), throneframe-animals (No. 245 = Fig. 205 left, No. 247 = Fig. 87), seated kalaśa-bearers (No. 242 = Fig. 204), and gods (No. 235 = Fig. 197) An idea of the various arrangements of the miniature-Jinas can be had from the various reproductions In Fig 199 the miniature-Jinas have partly been provided with vegetable motifs (see Fig. 375). The standing miniature-Jinas to the *left* have the lotus-node and the double-leaf The corresponding Jinas to the right have (with the exception of the lowest) neither of these elements. Only the bottom-most Jina has a double-leaf. He is also flanked by two adorants who have been given a place of prominence which is nowhere else observed in independent images. Still richer is the parikara of the two seated miniature-images at head-level. In both cases the Jina is seated on the central flower of a triple lotus while the cāmara-bearers are supported by the lateral flowers Instances of a similar employment of the triple lotus are found amongst the West Indian bronzes (SHAH, *Akota*, Pl. 40 etc.). The cāmara-bearers of our miniature-Jinas have the same height as the seated Jina himself. They carry cāmaras in their inner hands and lotus-flowers in their outer hands. The angular movements will recur in the case of the cāmara-bearers of the New Class and of the Geometrical Class. Similarly the cāmara-bearers of the upper tritīrthikā of the door-lintel of the inner door-way of Temple No. 12 (samvat 1051) already show the posture typical of late-medieval cāmara-bearers. — As on many other medieval images the miniature-Jinas have strands instead of curls.

§ 190. The main-figure. We have noted in the Date-Group the coexistence of images with and without uṣṇīṣa-lotus, with and without lateral strands, also with and without untwisted hair above the forehead. In Image No. 229 of the Date-Group the lowest row of curls was interrupted at its centre by a flat surface on which parted untwisted hair was depicted (the formula for the hair being probably derived from the smooth jaṭā). This feature was absent from the other images (only No. 230 showing some indication of untwisted hair above the forehead). All these variations also obtain in the class as a whole. — The rendering of the uṣṇīsa-lotus is sometimes realistic (No. 243 = Fig. 200) and sometimes reminiscent of the "usnīsa" of the strand-images (No. 229 = Fig. 195 left) As regards the *form as such* the uṣṇīṣa-lotus is a substitute for the curl-usnīṣa which is more or less clearly set off from the rest of the head. From the point of view of *contents* the uṣnīsa-lotus is a sort of cap on the curl-usnīsa (and the curls under it have to be imagined); there are in fact examples both in the early-medieval and in the medieval period where only part of the curl-uṣṇīsa is replaced by the usnīṣa-lotus (Figs. 113 and 224). — The lateral strands are always triple and rather short. The impression is gained that they hang down from the ears Not only are these lateral strands never missing from Rsabha-images, they are also found on the majority of the non-Rsabha-images (compare § 186). The śrīvatsa-mark is always clearly rendered. The cāmara-bearers which stand on elephants never have feet-lotuses in the strict sense. Nevertheless there are a few images where these cāmara-bearers are placed on small supports which are ultimately derived from the feet-lotus (Fig. 200). Similarly there are (in the case of the main-figure) but faint indications of the seat-lotus (Image No 231) and of the palm-lotuses (Image No. 238). We can assume that these elements were well known in those days but that in certain localities and periods they were not represented in full for one reason or the other. It should also be remembered that the lotus-node and the feet-lotus (in contradistinction to the pedestal-lotus) is missing at Deogarh almost completely when the Jinas are main-figures Both motifs are found exclusively (or almost exclusively) with miniature-Jinas. Even the West Indian bronzes which frequently employ feet-lotuses and seat-lotuses normally show the Jina without lotus-support or with a highly stylized lotus The lateral strands of the Pārśva-images which are invariably very short (No. 246 = Fig 205 right) probably also fall into this category of half-heartedly employed elements. Refer to *Distinction* § 32 where we suggested that *dogmatic considerations* precluded a full rendering of certain elements. This is probably correct, but it would be better to speak of "conventions" with or without a certain dogmatical bias. It should also be borne in mind that such conventions may differ according to the place and according to the period. Finally one has to remember that certain restrictions (e.g. absence of the parasol-stick in the Drum-Leaf Style and in Classes 1-3 of the High-Relief Style; scarcity of this particular element in Classes 2-6 of the Drum-Style) are of a purely local character and have no dogmatic connotation. — The bhāmandala is nowhere very pronounced. We mainly get two formulas: leaf-circlet with (Fig. 195) and without circular border (Fig. 200). The coils of the Pārśva-images reach down either to the feet or to the hands. In one case (Image No. 247) they are missing completely. Pārśva-images have no bhāmandala but their parikara-top is complete. Probably the typology of the style was too rigid to admit of the combination of hood-circle and bhāmaṇḍala which inevitably breaks up the normal pattern of the Jina-images.

§ 191. The parikara-top. Generally an āmalaka is represented on the upper parasol-top and a lotus-flower in low relief is shown on the lower surface of the lower parasol-top (alternatively the lower surface is plain or just has an incised lotus-pattern). The drummer is shown from

the front and looks like a protome. But actually the figure is depicted in full and follows the formula of Image No. 14 (KRAMRISCH, *Hindu Temple*, Pl. 55). The parasol-stick is nowhere represented. — The double-leaf is depicted on the upper border of the parikara-top. Mostly it is concealed by other figures and cannot be seen if the image is viewed from the front. If we take the photos as a basis, we can detect the double-leaf outside the Date-Group only in Images Nos. 233, 234, 237 (Fig. 198), 240, and 241. In Images Nos 233 and 237 the double-leaf is unconventional and not twofold as in the other images (i.e. two, and not four leaves in all). — The seated images have garland bearing couples, the standing images garland bearing couples or single garland-bearers. Where the male figures of the couples alone bear the garlands the females carry in their outer hands other objects, mostly fruits or lotus-flowers. In Image No. 242 (Fig. 204) only a single garland is depicted. — Isolated features are the hovering adorant of Image No. 243 (Fig. 200) and the two unexplained figures to the left and to the right of the drummer of Image No. 238 (Fig. 199). The Images Nos. 236, 238 (Fig. 199), and 249 (Fig. 207) are provided with elephants, but there is no indication of water-jars in their trunks.

§ 192. Examples of diversity have already been given in connection with the Date-Group and the three Pārśvas of § 186. Noteworthy are in particular the differences in the physiognomy of the images of the Date-Group.

There are a few instances of transfer from one motif to another motif The throne was transferred from the seated to the standing images. The lateral strands were transferred from strand-images to curl-images (first stage, cf. *Lalit Kalā* 1/2, Pl. 9) and from Ṛṣabhas to non-Rsabhas (second stage). The throne-formula of the seated images was transferred to a few standing images in a modified form (§ 183). The two miniature-gods on Image No. 235 (Fig. 197) must have been derived from some Hindu image. — Image No. 238 (Fig. 199) demonstrates "pseudo-differentiation in rows" (see Fig. 375 and § 294 end).

§ 193. Attributes. The medieval Jinas have several attributes which are absent or of no consequence in the early-medieval period. A case in point is the śrīvatsa-mark. It occurred only on a limited number of early-medieval images where it was faintly incised. Now it occurs invariably and looks like a brooch attached to the chest. The śrīvatsa-mark is also found with the ācāryas of medieval Jain iconography and with various Hindu gods. This suggests various processes of transfer. Other new attributes are the lower elephants (they support the cāmara-bearers and may also be called vāhana-elephants in contradistinction to the upper or kalaśa-elephants) and the kalaśa-bearers. The two lower elephants are more or less restricted to the Jina. The same is true of the combination of curls and lateral strands.

The *distribution* of the attributes has also changed. In the medieval period, seats (to use a general term) and throneframe-animals occur not only in Buddhist and Jain iconography but occasionally also in Hindu images. On the other hand the throne of the *Jina* has been completed by throne-legs and by the triple throne-blanket. Both motifs now form part of the well-defined typology of the throne. Whereas in the early-medieval period the representation of the throne varied from case to case we have now a fixed set of elements: two lions, a dharmacakra, two throne-legs, a throne-bar, a throne-blanket (normally triple) and a cushion. In this complex standardized form the throne is an attribute characteristic of the Jina which is not found elsewhere. Cāmara-bearers also make their appearance in the contemporary Hindu iconography. But there they remain an exception. — The throne which actually was an "attribute"

of the seated Jina as such is now also found in standing images. Nevertheless some difference remains: standing Jinas normally have thrones without legs and the throne-lions are normally not shown from the side (§ 188).

By comparing the Jina with the ācārya (Fig. 210)[1] we can establish the differences in the iconography of the two types (§ 293). Several frequent or compulsory attributes of the Jina-iconography of our class and of the style as such are *missing in the ācārya-images*: throne (i.e. throne proper, the cushion is depicted), cāmara-bearers, vāhanas of the attendant-figures, triple parasol, drum, drummer, curls, lateral strands, uṣṇīsa, uṣṇīṣa-lotus, standing posture. Conversely the following attributes and contributes (§ 297) of the ācāryas are *missing in the Jina-images*: stool(or sthāpanā)-and-monks, the whole element corresponding to the lion-throne; ācāryas and monks appearing in "positions" (§ 12) which in the case of Jina-images either accommodate other figures or are not provided for at all; female parasol-bearer (stick *and* top of the parasol in a slanting position), miniature-Jina above the head; preaching gesture and book as hand-attributes, broom. *Common* attributes are: nakedness; seated position depicted according to the vajraparyanka-formula; bhāmaṇḍala (not in our Fig. 210); double-leaf, garland-bearers; cushion; śrīvatsa-mark.

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[1] The piece is a so-called frieze-slab, dating from a later period (§ 231). In the present context only the iconographic aspect is under consideration

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE HOVERING CLASS OF THE HIGH-RELIEF STYLE[1]

§ 194. The Hovering Class is distinguished from the heavy and less imaginative Resting Class both by a new sentiment and by new motifs. The individual elements emerge from the back-wall, become more spirited, and are linked in a concerted upward movement. The vertical and diagonal direction is more accentuated and the parikara-top tapers. The figures no longer give the impression that great weight is placed on the supporting element (pedestal etc.). Undercutting heightens the impression of detachment, and the figures apparently defy the law of gravity, hence the term "Hovering Class", (which does of course not refer to the flying figures in the parikara-top but denotes a general quality). The decorative element gains in importance. As indicated earlier the iconographic programme is similar to that of the preceding class. This enables us to see clearly how the individual elements were transformed by the impact made by the new trend. Figs. 195 (right) and 219 (left) supply an example of this. In the first case the throne-bar is very heavy and the throne projects at the sides beyond the standing main-figure. In the second case the throne is *not broader* than the standing main-figure. It is literally compressed in order not to neutralize the vertical line. A further comparison may be added. The image of Fig. 208 is bordered on top by a *horizontal* frieze of *juxtaposed* mango-bunches. In the image of Fig. 224 double-leaves are used in a similar manner. But these are not placed side by side, they have been fused to form two continuous rows. Moreover, these two rows slant upwards, converging at the central axis of the image Thereby an impression of upward movement is conveyed. — The average quality of the images is higher than in the three other classes — Fig. 227 shows a *non-Jina* (Cakreśvarī at Golakot) which can be included in the Hovering Class

The characteristics mentioned are not restricted to the Hovering Class but recur in the majority of images in the New Class. But the New Class (whether "hovering" or not) clearly belongs to a later phase — As in the case of the previous class we start the treatment of the present class with the description of a particularly noteworthy group, the so-called Leaf-Circlet Group (§§ 195-196).

§ 195. The Images Nos. 251-253, which form the main examples of the Leaf-Circlet Group, are found at Deogarh, Budhi Chanderi, and Golakot respectively. Normally we do not include images from different places in one and the same group, but here the great similarity warrants such a procedure. Before the depredations, Image No. 251 was the best preserved and No. 252 the least well-preserved member of the group. All three images are seated. No. 251 is the only specimen to carry an inscription.

Image No. 251 (frontispiece and Fig. 211) stands in the right-hand room of Temple No. 21. An inscription in one line appears on the foot-band of the pedestal (§ 236). The tracery dropping from the foot-band is interrupted in the centre by a plain surface in which the crescent-cihna (8th Jina Candraprabha) is incised (§ 237). The height of the image is 5′ 1/2″.

[1] Images Nos. 251-276.

The material is a buff sandstone. (Condition in 1957:) "Slight damage occurred here and there (left arm of the right-hand cāmara-bearer); mouth and nose have been restored." Now the image is but a ruin of what it was: the main-figure and a number of subsidiary figures have lost their heads.

Image No. 252 (Fig. 212) stands in a gallery running along the back of the Jain compound at Budhi Chanderi. (Condition in 1957:) "The parikara is badly damaged and the cāmara-bearers have completely disappeared, but the Jina is comparatively well preserved (only light damage to the nose, the hands and the mouth)." We fear that the head has now fallen prey to the art-thieves. — The material is a pale sandstone. In all probability a cihna appeared on the rectangular panel in the centre of the foot-band (compare No. 251), but the surface of the small panel was chipped off so that the symbol disappeared. This was done so carefully that only the upper layer of the panel surface disappeared.

Image No. 253 (Figs. 213, 213 A, 213 B) stands in the Jain temple at Golakot. On the topmost throne-blanket a bull-cihna is represented in high relief (1st Jina Rsabha). Condition in 1957: "The Jina is damaged but slightly, the parikara more so however." Possibly in the meantime the head of this image has been cut away too. The material is a buff sandstone.

The two Images Nos. 254 and 255 can also be included into the Leaf-Circlet Group. But a complete photo of the first image was not available, and the second image is in a very bad state of preservation. We have therefore neglected these two pieces. Image No. 254 has been published by Stella Kramrisch (*Hindu Temple*, Pl 57 = our Fig. 214). According to this scholar this image stands at Chandpur. No. 255 (Fig. 215) was photographed by Raymond Burnier. It is reproduced here for the first time with his kind permission. Probably the image can be assigned to Chandpur or Dudahi.

§ 196. The group takes its name from the elaborate bhāmaṇdala. This consists (from the centre outwards) of an inner leaf-circlet (only in Nos. 251 and 253), a prominent circular garland, and an outer leaf-circlet. The composition of the images answers to the description given for the class as a whole (soaring effect etc.) However in Image No. 251 the zigzag line formed by the elephants and the cāmara-bearers supported by them adds a special feature to the image. The decorative element is most developed in No. 252. Here (and in Image No. 253) the decoration of the cushion is particularly bold. Thereby the impression is gained that a lace cover has been drawn over the cushion proper. In contradistinction to Nos. 251 and 252, the modelling of No. 253 is rather sharp Moreover the metallic elements forming part of the attire of the cāmara-bearers are more emphasized in No. 253 (compare the close-up in Fig. 213 B) than in Nos. 251 and 252. The surface areas of No. 253 are polished whereas those of Nos. 251 and 252 are dull. The iconographic differences between the three images are not very considerable. Image No. 252 is the only specimen in the group to show the elephants of the cāmara-bearers from the front. The parikara-tops of Nos. 251 and 252 are occupied by the usual figures (drummer and garland-bearing couples) to which a limited number of miniature-Jinas are added. The iconographic programme of No. 253 is richer: here we see no less than twelve (perhaps even more) miniature-Jinas, and two elephants are depicted above the two garland-bearing couples. No. 253 is also the only specimen within the group to have a makara-arch bordering the bhāmaṇḍala.

The emphasis on decorative elements as found in this group is reminiscent of the Throne-Frame Class. The Images Nos. 251 and 252 have arch-like festoons suspended from the cushion. They are connected with the cushion by bells (No. 250) or kīrtimukhas (No. 252).

The throne-blanket is in all three cases triple. The joints between the throne-legs and the (not very prominent) throne-bar are marked by richly-decorated dies. The throne and the pedestals of the elephants have a decorative frieze running along their lower edge. Below the parasol of No. 251 further garlands can be seen. But here the relief is very low. The seat-lotus is always very prominent. The same is true of the lotus-flowers decorating the underside of the parasols of Nos. 252 and 253. In these two images, the plinths of the miniature tritīrthikās rise in two tiers.

Since the range of decorative features is limited, repetition within the composition occurs frequently. We cite Image No. 251 as an example. Here the leaf-circlet motif is found not only on the bhāmandala of the main-figure, but also on the two dies of the throne, on the seat-lotus, on the bhāmaṇḍalas of the miniature-Jinas, and on the underside of the parasol. Festoons suspended by bells appear in high relief (below the cushion), in low relief (under the parasol), and as a sort of tracery on the cushion Horizontal lozenges are seen on the band dividing the upper and the lower part of the cushion, on the cushions of the miniature-Jinas, and on the bhāmaṇḍala-garland (otherwise the garland shows the same design as the festoons below the cushion). Vertical lozenges occupy the bays formed by the garlands in the cushion-decoration. Again a single vertical lozenge forms (as is usual in this period) the śrīvatsa-mark of the Jinas and of the cāmara-bearers. An āmalaka crowns not only the triple parasol but also the two dies of the throne. As in many other cases the triangular antefix of the mukutas (as found with the cāmara-bearers) takes the same shape as the upward extension of the armlets. Frequent use has been made of pearls both in the decoration of the various subsidiary figures and in the purely decorative elements of the composition. — Repetition does of course not exclude a certain amount of variety Thus the throne-blanket of the seated Jina of the right-hand tritīrthikā is more pointed than that of the corresponding Jina to the left. The pointed formula is more modern. Similarly we see in Image No. 258 (Fig. 218 and — less clear — Figs. 372/73) the old formula in the lower left tritīrthikā and the modern formula in the lower right tritīrthikā. Again the left single seated miniature-Jina has a seat-lotus whereas that to the right has a cushion. It should also be observed that the six elements connected with the festoons suspended below the cushion represent three different motifs (Fig. 379): three bells partly transformed into vegetable objects on the underside of the cushion; a realistically depicted bell at the bottom of the throne-blanket, two darts on the left and on the right of the cushion. We may even add the motif "zero", for the two *ends* of the festoon are directly attached to the cushion (without connecting member) The innermost zone of the throne-blanket is decorated with a ray-circlet, the central zone with cross-hatching, and the outer zone with a leaf-circlet.

§ 197 Long-lived iconographic types show the stylistic development better than others because the stylistic changes are not intermingled with iconographic innovations. Some later images which are closely related to the Leaf-Circlet Group have therefore special interest and will be dealt with although none of them belongs to Deogarh (Nos. 256-258). In spite of their stylistic advance we can include the three new images in the Leaf-Circlet Group. It would therefore appear that one and the same class can be comprised of images which represent different stages in the development of the style.

Images Nos. 256 and 257 stand at Budhi Chanderi. The first image (Fig. 216) stands in the temple on the other side of the street (if it is approached from the Dharmshala). The second image (Fig. 217) belongs to the Pārśva-temple. (Condition in 1957:) "The main-figure of

No. 256 is damaged but slightly, whereas the parikara, in particular the parikara-top, has been more badly damaged". The lower section of the image with the cihna does not appear in my photo. — "In the case of No. 257 damage is also almost entirely confined to the parikara; in particular the right-hand cāmara-bearer has been cut away completely." No. 257 has the bull-cihna (1st Jina Rsabha) on its throne-blanket. Both images are covered with lichen and it would appear that they were exposed to the elements for a considerable length of time. The material is in both cases white and blackish sandstone. — Image No. 258 (Fig. 218) stands in the Jain compound of Siron Khurd. (Condition in 1957:) "The main-figure is again well preserved whereas the parikara has sustained medium-to-severe damage (the lower portions of the two cāmara-bearers have been broken away)." If the image had a cihna it must have appeared on the heavily damaged foot-band of the pedestal. The material is blackish sandstone. The present condition of the three images is not known, but it is unlikely that they were not affected by the depredations.

Three trends mark the deviation of the three new specimens from the earlier images: awakening of the preference for geometrical forms, for architectural forms, and for low relief. The first trend is demonstrated by the prong-circlet of the inner zone of the bhāmaṇḍalas of Images Nos. 256 and 258 (the pattern of No. 257 is quite different); evidence of the second trend is provided by the āmalaka-motifs (scalloped disks or rings) used freely for the decoration of mukutas, cāmaras, throne-legs etc.; the third trend is apparent from the bhāmaṇḍala of Image No. 257 (lozenge-pattern) and from the cushion of No. 258 (various types of lozenge-patterns and other motifs) — The three images have a peculiar type of head (or rather head-and-hair). This type which can best be seen in Fig. 212 is predominant at Budhi Chanderi and Siron Khurd, while at Deogarh it is confined to the Images Nos. 245/246 (Fig. 205) and 270 (Fig 223). The curls form a compact cap clearly set off from the rest of the head; the untwisted hair immediately above the scalp is depicted everywhere between the tops of the curls (i.e. not only immediately above the forehead); and as a consequence the curl-tops are at some distance from each other, sprouting as it were from the hair. On the contemporary Deogarh images the treatment of head and hair is different: the hair follows the usual formula, the curls are close together, and the head is narrower. — The elephants are everywhere seen from the side. Image No. 256 has the makara-motif (compare No. 253) in a modified form: the two makara-protomai are represented but not the roll or garland which runs from makara to makara and borders the bhāmandala. In Image No. 257 a kirtimukha-motif is seen immediately below the bull on the triple throne-blanket. The throne-blanket of No. 256 has been provided with a row of three kirtimukhas In No. 258 the flat garlands on the throne-blanket and the doubled back-plates (clouds) of the garland-bearers are noteworthy.

§ 198 The three seated Images Nos. 259-261 in the left room of Temple No. 3 at Deogarh are relatively closely linked with the Leaf-Circlet Group. They form a group together with the three *standing* Images Nos. 262-264 which stand in the same temple. Therefore standing and seated images have in this case to be treated together. Fig. 219 shows Image No. 262 (standing) to the left, and No. 260 (seated) to the right. The height is 3'11" (No. 259), 4'2" (No. 260), and 4'3" (No. 261) respectively. Even before the depredations the images of this group were damaged heavily. Further damage was caused by the art-thieves. At present all images except two standing specimens have had their heads removed. As the individual images will not be described we need not give a detailed list of the damage. The material is without exception pale sandstone.

In Image No. 259 the elephants are seen from the front and festoons are depicted below the cushion; in No. 260 the elephants are seen from the side and the festoons are missing; in No. 261 the animals are again shown from the side, but garlands are depicted as in the first image. — Even before the depredations, No. 262 was the only standing image of the three which still had its parikara-top. Two fragments (one in Temple No. 2, one belonging to Wall-Section IV) are possibly the missing parikara-tops of Nos. 263 and 264. An interesting feature of the three mentioned parikara-tops is the fact that the elephants appear directly above the heads of the garland-bearers (compare the New Class). — Most (or all) images have or had an indistinct cihna on the foot-band of the pedestal or on the throne-blanket. The workmanship of all the six images is good, but they are very similar to each other and the group as such has no special features.

§ 199. The three Images Nos. 265-267 (numbered from left to right) all stand in Temple No. 19. Image No. 266 (Fig. 220) is the pedestal of a seated image which is otherwise lost (or at least no longer *in situ*); Nos. 265a/b and 267a/b are standing double-images and practically identical (i.e. 265 = 267). The three images stand on an elongated platform which occupies the space between the two central pillars attached to the back-wall of the main-room. The parikara-tops of the outer halves of the two double-images have been omitted, the required space being occupied by the inner corbels of the two pillars mentioned. The whole sequence (pedestal for a seated image in the centre, and a double-image to the left and to the right) fits exactly in the space between the two pillars. There can therefore be little doubt that this arrangement is the original one. It therefore follows that the pedestal No. 266 (or rather the whole image to which it belonged) can be taken as forming a set (and also a group) together with the two standing double-images. — The throne-blanket of No. 266 has a garland (suspended to form five flat arches) and a bull below the garland. The Images Nos. 265 and 267 carry respectively three and two inscriptions with donors' names (each inscription consisting of one line only). The inner Jinas Nos. 265b and 267a have (instead of the single garland-bearers) single kalaśa-bearers in the posture of garland-bearers. Between the main-figures of the two double-images there appears in each case a miniature-Pārśva (with strands) which serves as a subsidiary figure for both main-figures (the main-figures of double-images often have one or more subsidiary elements in common, compare § 137). — In the porch of the same Temple No. 19 stands the pedestal No. 268 (Fig. 221). It is so similar to No. 266 that it cannot be passed over in this paragraph. On the throne-blanket of No. 268 there appears a somewhat unconventional garland-motif with a tiny kīrtimukha in its centre A chain is suspended from the kīrtimukha and below it there appears a very small bull-cihna. Compare the cushion-decoration in Fig. 218. The relief on the throne-blanket is very low. For the inscription of No. 268 compare § 236. — It is obvious that the two pedestals cannot be separated from the images of the Hovering Class although these pieces do not show the stylistic features of the Class.

§ 200. We conclude the treatment of the seated images with the description of the single Images Nos. 269-271. In 1957 the Image No. 269 (Fig. 222) stood on the foundations of the left wall of the cella of Temple No. 2. It is now kept in the interior of the same temple. The two cāmara-bearers have been broken away. The pedestal is rather simple and its relief is somewhat low (as in Images Nos. 266 and 268). On the other hand, the parikara-top of the image tapers markedly. The specimen no doubt belongs to the Hovering Class. It is very

weather-beaten and much of its surface is covered by lichen. A bull-cihna appears on the throne-blanket which is single as in Images Nos. 266 and 268. Certain parts like the left tritīrthikā are rendered cursorily. — The Image No. 270 (Fig. 223) stands in Temple No. 8 and is smaller then the seated images of the class mentioned previously. The rendering of the head and of the hair corresponds to the formula of Nos. 245/46. Above the head the back-wall has been broken away, and the cāmara-bearers are missing. The material is yellowish sandstone which is otherwise not found at Deogarh. The cushion-garlands follow the formula of Image No. 251 while the cushion itself can be compared with the cushions of Nos. 252/253. The outer zone of the bhāmaṇḍala is decorated with a ray-circlet and not with a leaf-circlet (compare Fig. 181). No. 270 is still more closely related to the Leaf-Circlet Group than the six images of § 198. — Image No. 271 (Fig. 224) stands in the lower veranda of Temple No. 11. Noteworthy is the long row of double-leaves running along the upper edge of the image (cf. Fig. 241); the doubling of the two elephants on the parikara-top (which occurs here for the first time); and the careful rendering of the uṣṇīṣa-lotus. The artist has depicted the lowest curls of the uṣṇīṣa thereby indicating that the uṣṇīṣa-lotus is a cover for and not a substitute for the uṣṇīṣa (Fig. 113 and § 190). The cihna appears in the centre of the foot-band of the pedestal.

§ 201. The last images of our class to be described are the standing Jinas Nos. 272-276. Nos. 272 and 273 form a pair (in the sense of group and of set) and stand in Temple No. 4. A peculiarity shared by both images are the garlands which decorate the parasol. — Image No. 274 (Fig. 85 centre) is a Pārśva-image in Temple No. 13 (right-hand room). Apart from the cāmara-bearers, there are no subsidiary figures in the lateral zones of the image. The throne-blanket is single and quite plain. — The Pārśva-Image No. 275 (Fig. 225 left) stands in Temple No. 17. The straight upper edge of the parikara would suggest that the image should not be placed in the Hovering Class. In reality however this feature is only a deliberate modification of the usual pattern for this class. All the parts of the image clearly fall in the Hovering Class. The specimen demonstrates in a striking manner how the treatment of the double-leaf was brought in line with the underlying stress on the vertical. The two leaves are narrow and vertical like the elephants' trunks by which they are framed. The vertical formula of the double-leaf recurs in Figs. 218 and 224 (central double-leaf). — Image No. 276 stands in the right-hand room of Temple No. 21 (north-wall, to the extreme left). Standing miniature-Jinas appear at head-level.

The Iconography of the Hovering Class[1]

§ 202. Pedestal. In contradistinction to the previous class the standing images show invariably a yakṣa and a yakṣī to the left and to the right of the pedestal. This is in keeping with the general trend to minimize the difference between standing and seated images in the lower half of the parikara (pedestal, cāmara-bearers, and adorants). All the standing images follow more or less the pattern of Fig. 219 (left). However the throne-bar is missing or reduced in the case of several standing Images (compare No. 275 where the throne-bar is replaced by a plain band). In contradistinction to the standing images the seated images show a fair amount of differentiation in the design of the throne-blanket. This may or may not be decorated with

[1] We mention only the deviations from the preceding class.

one or more of the three elements: garland, kīrtimukha, and cihna. The other parts of the pedestals are also more differentiated in the case of the seated images than in the case of the standing images (the pedestals of the latter are too narrow to give scope for much innovation).

§ 203. The lateral zones. The cāmara-bearers of all the seated images stand on elephants. In Images Nos. 252 (Fig. 212) and 259 the animals face the viewer; in all the other cases they are shown from the side. The feet of the cāmara-bearers are not directly supported by the backs of the elephants but rest on lotus-flowers. In some cases a single lotus accommodates both feet (Fig. 211 = 377), and this is what we expect. There are however also cases where each foot is placed on a tiny lotus of its own (Fig. 213 = 378). In the case of the standing images a tiny adorant is depicted before each cāmara-bearer (in No. 275, i.e. Fig. 225, there are *two* adorants on both sides). All the cāmara-bearers follow the formula "thigh-posture of the outer hands — cāmaras in the inner hands"; only in Image No. 251 (Fig. 211) it is the other way round. In at least three cases the cāmara-bearers are shown with śrīvatsa-marks on their chests (Nos. 251, 253, 258: Figs. 211, 213, 218). — The lateral zones of the *standing* images terminate just below the garland-bearers, which is in keeping with the pattern of the previous class. The iconographic programme of the upper part of the lateral zones is not uniform: kalaśa-bearers or miniature-Jinas appear on top whereas miniature-Jinas or a completely plain surface are encountered below the topmost figures (225/219). The lateral zones of the *seated* images are continued up to the upper edge of the image. Above the cāmara-bearers we see on both sides two miniature-images (not to be confused with mere miniature-Jinas): a tritīrthikā below and a second Jina-motif above (a single seated Jina: No. 271 = Fig. 224; three standing Jinas: No. 253 = Fig. 213; a second tritīrthikā: No 258 = 218). In Image No. 251 (Figs. 211 and 374) the lateral Jinas of the tritīrthikās are standing on cushions. This transfer of the cushion from the seated images to the standing images (analogous to the transfer of the throne) is demonstrated in a much clearer way by an *independent* tritīrthikā at Siron Khurd. In the latter case the cushions of all the three Jinas are depicted at the same height. It should also be observed that the inner Jinas of the two tritīrthikās of Image No 251 as well as the seated Jinas above the tritīrthikās are provided with a double-leaf. This element is missing in the case of the main-figure and of the remaining four tritīrthikā Jinas.

§ 204. Main-figure etc. All images except the Pārśva-image No 274 (Fig. 85 centre) are provided with lateral strands[1]. The uṣṇīsa-lotus is represented in a number of cases and the seat-lotus is mostly clearly depicted (but in No. 258, i.e. Fig. 218, it is omitted altogether). In the case of the images which are not at Deogarh (Fig. 218 etc.) and in the case of No. 270 (Fig. 223), the untwisted hair is shown everywhere on the head (this may be called the "Budhi-Chanderi-formula"). The Deogarh images (except Nos. 245/46 and 270) show untwisted hair at the most in the lowest row of curls, especially in its centre ("Deogarh-formula"). Compare § 197. — The lotus-blossoms in the hands of the standing Jinas (upper part of the padmapāṇi-motif) are indicated but not clearly depicted as such. The bhāmandala of the seated Jinas is not uniform. In the case of the standing Jinas it consists of a leaf-circlet bordered by a slightly raised circular zone (in No. 276 the bhāmaṇḍala consists *only* of this circular zone). In the case of the two Images Nos. 253 (Fig. 213) and 256 (Fig. 216) the bhāmaṇḍala is provided with a

[1] The short lateral strands of the other Pārśva-image in the present class (No. 275) can be recognized in Fig. 225.

makara-motif. All seated images have a horizontal band behind the Jina approximately at the height of the lower edge of the bhāmaṇḍala.

§ 205. The parikara-top. The detached parikara-top tentatively assigned to image No. 263 has single garland-bearers. The two standing Images Nos. 265b and 267a have single kalaśa-bearers, in the posture of garland-bearers, as a substitute. In all the other cases garland-bearing couples are depicted. The characterization of the hands of the female garland-bearers is not uniform (different postures and attributes). The elephants of the parikara-top are missing but rarely (Fig. 211). The elephants are doubled (four specimens in all) in Image No. 271 (Fig. 224). The double-leaf is represented in the majority of cases. The motif is less naturalistic than in the previous class (stylization, at times with a tendency to the vertical [§ 201]; extension of the motif to a row of leaves [No. 271 = Fig. 224]).

§ 206. Diversity is not very pronounced although examples are not absent (compare e.g. § 198: elephants of the cāmara-bearers shown partly from the *front* and partly from the *side*). It would appear that in the case of these highly decorative images variation was less essential than in other instances. Where they occur, innovations affect almost exclusively the subsidiary elements (i.e. not the main-figure). The scope for the study of form-principles is limited. Nevertheless an extreme case of multiplication is supplied by No. 271 (see the previous paragraph). The cushions of the standing miniature-Jinas in Image No. 251 and the śrīvatsa-marks on the chests of the cāmara-bearers (No. 251 etc.) are examples of transfer. The preference for architectural forms works on the usual elements: cāmaras, mukutas, and parasols. Images Nos. 265b and 267a supply instances of substitution (§ 205).

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

THE NEW CLASS OF THE HIGH-RELIEF STYLE[1]

§ 207. From the point of view of iconography the New Class consists of three subdivisions: conventional seated images, conventional standing images, and "modern" images (seated or standing). Images of the first subdivision differ from those of the Hovering Class only stylistically: new architectural elements are employed, the decorative patterns tend to become more geometrical, and the postures of the images are more rigid (often even angular). In the second and third sub-divisions the stylistic change is accompanied by the introduction of five new elements. All five features may but need not appear on one and the same image. In the hands of the standing Jinas there appear clearly depicted lotus-blossoms; above the head a tree-trunk (in the shape of the old parasol-stick) is shown; the double-leaf is normally flat and it is represented *below* the parasol-top (to the left and to the right of the cylindrical element); the elephants of the parikara-top stand on compact pedestals, the drummer is shown as a complete figure and appears either in front of or above the parasol. It is these five innovations which have prompted us to establish the present class. The *name* of the class was also derived from these new features. — The nine "modern" images forming the third subdivision include a group of three fine standing images (Nos. 277-279), a group of five primitive standing images (Nos. 291-295) and an average-quality seated image (No. 296) The common feature of those nine images is the marked simplification of the parikara. As this simplification is typical of the later period we have styled them "modern" images.

In our period the five innovations are fairly widespread in Central and Western India (compare Fig. 230 B). Therefore their presence or absence cannot be regarded as a sufficient criterion for membership of the New Class. We therefore assigned in principle only such images to the New Class which showed both sets of criteria (innovations *and* derivation from the Hovering Class). It was however justified to include several seated images *without* any innovations because they were very closely related to the standing images *with* innovations. Again the nine "modern" images were included because they have no additional features distinguishing them from the other members of the class. They deviate from the class type mainly in their relative simplicity (but compare also § 277).

Our actual subdivision is not based on the tripartite scheme described above but on the distinction between standing and seated images The *standing* modern images have been described both at the beginning and at the end of the standing images (Nos. 277-279; Nos, 291-295) whereas the single *seated* modern image has been described at the beginning of the seated images (No. 296). As a result of this, the group of Nos. 277-279, which is of high quality and which is best suited to demonstrate the innovations, takes precedence (§§ 208 and 209).

From the purely stylistic point of view certain images of Jain goddesses can be connected with the New Class. However the relationship is less close than in analogous cases met with earlier. The images of the goddesses do not in any sense of the word "belong" to our class.

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[1] Images Nos. 277-301.

They are only connected with it through isolated iconographic, stylistic, and epigraphical links. Moreover the goddesses themselves show two different stylistic idioms. We shall therefore describe them in detail, but this will be done in a separate chapter (Ch. 14).

§ 208. The three modern Images Nos. 277-279 in Temple No. 28 form a set, and the pair Nos. 277/278 is a group within this set. But if the word group is taken in its widest sense it can also be used for all the three images (No 279 is distinguished from the other two images only by the extreme simplification of its parikara). Common features of all the three images are the plain pedestal (no throne!) and the peculiar treatment of the parasol. — Image No. 277 (Fig. 228) shows an animal-cihna on its pedestal. Obviously a deer (the cihna of the 16th Jina Śānti) is meant. On both sides of the cihna a name is incised. The left-hand cāmara-bearer, the left hand of the Jina, and the drummer have been broken away. The thieves have recently cut away the right-hand garland-bearing couple. — Image No. 278 (Fig. 229) is very similar to the previous image but has no cihna and no inscription. The arms have been cut away below the shoulders. This could be done without difficulty as the main-figures of the three images hardly touch the back-wall. The drummer is also missing. — Image No. 279 (Figs. 230 and 230A) shows only the following parikara-elements: parasol, drummer, bhāmaṇḍala, double-leaf, two attendant-figures. The other two images show in addition to these the following: elephants in the parikara-top, garland-bearing couples, kalaśa-bearers, four standing miniature-Jinas, and adorants on the pedestals. No. 279 is the best-preserved specimen within the group. Damage is confined to the hands and the double-leaf. — The average height of the three images is five feet. The material is in all cases pale sandstone; the dark patches on No. 278 seem to be due to the elements All three Jinas have sustained damage to noses and mouths (the face of No. 279 has been repaired).

§ 209. The five iconographic innovations of the New Class (§ 207) are well in evidence in our group. This would be even more conspicuous if the state of preservation were better. The attitude of the drummer changes from image to image, but the drummer is always represented in full. The elephants of Nos. 277 and 278 (No. 279 has no elephants) stand on compact pedestals. The double-leaf is *missing* in No. 277. In the other two images it consists of two large surfaces (approximately at ear-level) the inner edges of which run almost parallel to the ear. In Fig. 229 (Image No. 278) the left leaf is visible. The double-leaf of Image No. 279 sustained heavy damage, but the upper ends of the two stalks and the damaged surfaces left after the disappearance of the leaves can still be seen (Fig. 230). Image No. 279 is the only member of the group to have the motif of the tree-trunk. Originally the two leaves were connected with the trunk by the stalks referred to above. — Of the six hands only three are extant (both hands of No. 279; the left hand of No. 277). In all three cases the lotus-blossom is depicted on the palms of the hands (compare *Khajuraho*, Figs. 2-3). A *peculiar* feature is the occurrence of two slightly smaller overlapping lotus-blossoms on the *back* of each of the three extant hands (Fig 230 A). Both motifs have to be derived from the lotus-blossom which in Buddhist iconography appears behind the hand of the main-figure and which is depicted in such a way that the petals face the observer. Such a late borrowing may be unexpected, but the Jain Tārās are also not much earlier than our images (*Distinction*, Figs. 1-3). Possibly Hindu images have provided an intermediate link (BANERJI, Pl. 18b. d). Intermediate forms between the Jain motif(s) and the Buddhist (Hindu) motif could not be traced however.

It is obvious that the comparative simplicity of the images is not the outcome of poor workmanship but reflects a new stylistic sentiment. Decorative elements have by no means been dispensed with entirely. Their rendering is however more sober than in the previous classes. See in particular the ornamentation of the parasol. The parasol-formula recurs on the "modern" Image No. 296 (cf Fig. 230B!). The chains etc. on the bodies of the elephants contrast sharply with the otherwise smooth surface. A similar treatment of the animals is found in the seated Image No. 301 (Figs. 241 and 242) dated samvat 1105.

The anatomy of our Jinas already foreshadows the Geometrical Class (Chapter 15) where the whole body is made up of geometrical solids. This principle is not without parallels in earlier periods. The neck of the Large Śānti was just a cylinder fixed between the shoulders, and the chin was a hemisphere attached to the head proper. Closer parallels are of course found amonst the images of the High-Relief Style discussed earlier. Thus the rendering of the bodies is rather geometrical in the two images of Fig. 195 (in contrast to the images of Figs. 200 and 202/203). But it is for the first time in the present class that all specimens are affected and that each specimen becomes geometrical in its entirety. The boneless and flabby limbs give way to a rigid system of vertical and horizontal lines. In the treatment of the head and the face the horizontal dominates. As far as the subsidiary elements are concerned, the change in treatment is most conspicuous in the case of the ubiquitous attendant-figures. We remember that in the early-medieval period the elegant postures introduced in the Gupta period often lapsed into effeminate and boneless forms. The new type of attendant-figures (invariably cāmara-bearers) is brisk and spirited. The new quality is expressed in geometrical terms (angular movements etc.) and the figures are conceived as part of the decorative pattern which now constitutes the major part of the composition E.g. note the inner arms of the cāmara-bearers which are often bent back at an angle (Fig 230). Instances supplied by the other subsidiary elements are not lacking. In Fig. 229 we see to the left several angles forming three superimposed "V's". They are formed (from bottom to top:) by the right arm of the kalaśa-bearer, by the right leg of the hovering male garland-bearer, and by the shins of the female accompanying the male garland-bearer.

We conclude by noting a few additional details in our three images The most conspicuous common peculiarity is the parasol which was already mentioned. All three images are heavily undercut, the figures being almost detached from the back-plate. In Image No. 279 the parikara-top and the back-plate terminate in a triangle. In Image No. 277 the curls above the forehead form a flat arch. This device is very popular in the Geometrical Class where the bodies are subjected to various artistic experiments. Much attention has been given to the treatment of the vegetable objects in the hands of the garland-bearing couple in Image No. 278: the garland held by the male terminates at one end in a half-open blossom, and at the other end in a closed spherical bud (compare for the bud the object held by a Tārā-like goddess belonging to Wall-Section I). The female holds a half-open blossom which is identical with the blossom at the upper end of the garland just mentioned.

§ 210. In several cases two or more standing images of our class are so similar that they might well be called copies of each other (compare the Images Nos. 277/278 just described) In a number of cases we even meet with double-images. In the following description we have given preference to types represented by two or more specimens.

In most cases the related images are still standing side by side, but the Pārśva-Image No. 280 (Fig. 231, height 4'8") stands in Temple No. 4, while its counterpart — the Pārśva-Image No.

281 (Figs. 225 and 226, height 5'4") — stands in Temple No. 17. In both cases the parasol has been pushed upwards so that the double-leaf could be accommodated between it and the hood-circle. As the double-leaf is now represented below the parasol it collides with the hood-circle of the Pārśva-images. In both images the drummer is represented in full. Image No. 281 is unusually narrow and emphasizes the vertical tendency of the 280/281 type by the tower-like treatment of the parasol: Two āmalakas have been placed on the triple parasol, and the topmost āmalaka supports a spherical member which is reminiscent of the stūpikā of the Northern śikhara. The whole element tapers gradually forming a narrow cone. Above the elephants of the parikara-top are seen flying kalaśa-bearers with bent knees. To the upper left, part of the back-wall has been broken away. Image No. 280 has no peculiarities which require special mention in this context — Image No. 282 in Temple No. 4 is a double-image. Both halves are complete but they share the standing miniature-Jina between them. Special features are lacking — Temple No. 9 originally housed the mediocre pair Nos. 283/284. The two images have now been shifted to the Dharmshala. The first piece has an inscription consisting of a single name. The double-leaf consists in both cases of two small leaves suspended from the top of a comparatively long tree-trunk represented *above* the parasol. — The three images leaning against the rear-wall of Temple No. 19 (Nos. 265-67, § 199) are flanked by two standing images which belong to our class and which form again a pair (Nos. 285/286). The differences between the two specimens are however marked and the *left-hand* image has none of the five iconographic innovations: In contradistinction to Image No. 286 which stands on the right, parasol-stick and double-leaf as well as the lotus-flowers on the palms of the hands of the main-figure are missing. This is another instance of plus/minus-differences However, the image can be placed in our class for stylistic reasons *irrespective* of its relationship to Image No. 286. — The main approach through the Wall (between Sections IV [= XIII] and V [= XII] is flanked on its inner side (east-side) by two comparatively large images — Nos. 287/288 The one on the right shows Pārśva. The left-hand image (No. 287, Figs 235 and 236) has been provided with throne-legs[1] and an unconventional parikara-top: There is only a single, simple parasol-top, and this serves as a pedestal for the drummer who is represented as flying with bent knees. — The two Images Nos. 289 (Fig. 234) and 290 which belong to Wall-Section IV are very similar but do not form a pair in the narrowest sense of the word Image No. 289 is larger than No. 290 and has, on its left side, a row of five superimposed tritīrthikās. If this was an independent image it must have had a second row of tritīrthikās on the right (and it would be necessary to assume that in its present state the image is no longer complete) The alternative would be to regard No. 289 as part of a tritīrthikā or of a double-image (double-image here in the sense of two images placed side by side and forming a whole) Below the tritīrthikā at the bottom there appears a lion-throne which does not only belong to the whole tritīrthikā (instead of to a *single* miniature-image) but to the lateral zone as such. This throne has the same form as the throne of the main-figure, i.e. it follows the formula of the *standing* images. The Image No. 290 which has been fixed farther to the right has no special features but carries an inscription consisting of one line on its pedestal.

§ 211. We have mentioned already that the quality of the five "modern" images in Temple No. 20 (Images Nos. 291-295) is not of a high order. Therefore only one specimen (No. 291 = Fig. 237) has been reproduced. Nos. 291, 294 and 295 carry inscriptions (one to three lines).

[1] There is however no connection between it and Images Nos. 236-238.

Two inscriptions are dated (No. 291 = samvat 1135; No. 295 = samvat 1136) — compare § 246 *infra*. The five images show (in numerical order) the following cihnas: crescent, conch, deer, deer, conch. The height is 3'11", 4'2.5", 4'7", 4'6.5" and 4'6.5" respectively. The five images form a group and a set. In all the images the group-type is represented in almost exactly the same way. Normally, such a close relationship only involves two images. The group is linked by two features with the goddess No. 302 in the porch of the adjoining Temple No. 19 (shape of the double-leaf, occurrence of the name Silaṇi in the inscription of both No. 302 and No. 295).

§ 212. The Pārśva-Image No. 296 (Fig. 238) in Temple No. 25 is the only seated specimen amongst the "modern" images. It is related to the group of Temple No. 28 although of poorer quality. The cushion is replaced by snake-coils. This treatment is without parallel in the High-Relief Style but similar cases do occur in the Drum-Leaf Style (Fig. 340; Fig. 183).
The Pārśva-Image No. 296 A (Fig 243) stands behind Temple No. 12. Its upper part resembles the previous image but the iconographic programme is too rich to admit its inclusion amongst the modern images. No. 296A is noteworthy not only on account of its narrowness but also due to several details. In the centre of the foot-band of the pedestal there appear two disproportionately large alms-bowls. The bowls are flanked on either side by two monks holding their typical brooms (compare Fig. 210). A similar antithetic group composed of but two monks is depicted on the throne-blanket. Note the cushions on which the two last-mentioned figures are seated and the lotus-blossoms below the inner paws of the throne-lions. The lateral zones of the pedestal show a yakṣa (to the left) and a yakṣī (to the right) as is usual. Above the yakṣī a nun can be seen in the photo She can be distinguished from a monk by her female breasts. No indication of a garment can be seen but this is probably due to the small size of the figure. There is no evidence which would lead us to assume that Jain nuns ever made a practice of going about naked. A careful examination of the pedestal will disclose that here as elsewhere the problem of representing a seated figure from the side was solved in more than one way. — The form of the double-leaf (two pairs of twigs) is without parallel at Deogarh The impression is gained that the traditional double-leaf was subdivided so as to resemble a twig with rows of leaves (compare SHAH, *Akota*, 40 and 46b).

§ 213. We call the four Images Nos. 297-300 a group although the present state of preservation makes it impossible to detect any possible common denominator for all four pieces. In the case of Image No. 297 (Fig. 240) only the pedestal remains. It stands in the porch of Temple No. 2 and was shifted into the interior of the temple subsequent to the deprivations. The Images Nos. 298 (Fig. 239, Wall-Section V) and 299 (Fig. 239 A, Wall-Section XII) form a pair. The second image is damaged but slightly (compare our photo) while Image No 298 has been broken away above the head No. 300 (see the next paragraph) is well preserved but its composition differs from that of the other three images to such an extent that comparison is restricted to a limited number of features.
Image No. 297 is noteworthy on account of the inscribed band above the cushion. It has possibly to be imagined that a second cushion was placed *on* the band. Another interesting feature are the two warriors which flank the kīrtimukha on the throne-blanket. For the inscription refer to § 236. Images Nos. 298 and 299 form a pair (in the sense of a set within the group) and are made of the same reddish-brown sandstone — sandstone of a type which one seldom meets at Deogarh. The second image has a dated inscription which is unfortunately

illegible. The throne-blankets of both images carry the bull-cihna. The two pieces supply one of the most blatant examples of diversity (maximum variation combined with maximum affinity — compare Figs. 140/141). The reader can easily detect the variation of the formula in the case of the throne-cushion, the throne-blanket etc.

The close connection of Nos 297-298/99-300 can be demonstrated easily. In Nos. 298/99 on the one hand and 300 on the other the treatment of the Jina is quite uniform; and in the case of Nos. 299 and 300 further parallels can be found in the parikara (bhāmandala etc.). Particularly close is the similarity of the throne-cushions of Nos. 299 and 300, whereas the throne-cushion of No. 298 is related to that of No. 297 (the connection is however only a distant one). A clear link between Nos. 298 and 297 is supplied by the treatment of the dies in which the throne-legs terminate. They take in both cases the shape of a niche accommodating a miniature-figure (No. 298 = miniature-Jina; No. 297 = goddess).

At first sight one would be inclined to assign the four images to the Hovering Class (provided the large standing Jinas of No. 300 are ignored). But although the innovations are missing, the style is no longer the same. The pillar-like cāmaras (Fig. 239 A) and the niched dies (Fig. 240) show the emphasis on architectural elements. The lions of Fig. 239 and the kīrtimukha of Fig. 240 demonstrate the increasing rigidity of figure-motifs (which is one facet of the trend towards geometrical forms) The geometrical tendency is exhibited most markedly by the decoration of the bhāmandalas on Images Nos. 299 and 300 (Figs. 239 A and 231). Note also the extreme *simplicity* of the two extant bhāmandalas

§ 214 Image No 300 (Figs. 231-233) standing in Temple No. 4 is unique. It can be described as a tritīrthikā with a single pedestal or as a normal image where the subsidiary Jinas to the left and to the right of the main-Jina are disproportionately large. The most unconventional feature however is the intercalation of a horizontal zone between the Jina and the throne. The horizontal zone accommodates an antithetic group of ācāryas (projecting from the back-wall) which is flanked by two standing Jinas. The *left-hand* standing Jina is the only one in the composition to have strands (smooth jaṭā) instead of curls. The intercalation involved the addition of a second throne-bar and a second throne-blanket above the intercalated zone (below the cushion). The lion-throne follows the formula of the *standing* images. Both lateral panels of the pedestal are occupied by yaksīs (and not by a yaksa and a yaksī) — Ambikā to the left and Cakreśvarī to the right. — In the context of Deogarh it would appear that this image was the first step in the development of the tritīrthikā. It must however be borne in mind that elsewhere the tritīrthikā-type existed already at a very early date (SHAH, *Akota*, 22).

The horizontal zone with the two ācāryas is noteworthy not only because it breaks up the conventional pattern, but also on account of a number of details. No doubt the iconography is on the whole in keeping with the ācārya-iconography known from the other representations at Deogarh (§ 193). However the following features deserve special mention: The ācāryas are shown from the side; the hand expected to make the preaching gesture (only extant in the case of the right-hand figure) makes in fact quite a different one; the broom of the left-hand ācārya is depicted in low relief on the upper surface of the pedestal (as though it were meant to be viewed from above)[1], the broom of the right-hand ācārya is depicted to the left of the figure on the cushion (Fig. 233) — probably a deliberate attempt at form-variation; the alms-bowl of the left-hand ācārya is depicted below the right lower leg of the figure and behind the broom-

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[1] In Fig. 233 this broom-head can be seen below the right leg of the left-hand ācārya.

head (Fig. 233); the alms-bowl of the right-hand ācārya appears below the sthāpanā; in front of the stool or sthāpanā a rosette is shown on the surface of the throne-blanket which in this case is extended over the upper surface of the throne (Fig. 233).

The two larger standing Jinas *above* the intercalated zone have two of the five innovations (pedestals for the elephants and hand-lotuses). This is proof positive of the fact that seated images without the five innovations are closely connected with images showing these innovations, if only the *style* is the same. Stylistic criteria are *inter alia* the following: angular posture of the ācāryas and of the cāmara-bearers of the upper standing Jinas, geometrical bhāmaṇḍala of the seated Jina.

§ 215. Image No. 301 (Figs. 241 and 242) stands in the cella of Temple No. 11. It carries an inscription in three lines of samvat 1105 (compare Chapter 4). The inscription also alludes to the erection of the temple for which the image was meant. It would therefore appear that it dates both the image and the Temple No. 11. The image has sustained minor damage but nose and mouth of the main-figure have been restored. No. 301 is reminiscent of Nos. 298/99 but has a more "modern" appearance. Note in particular the angular movements of the cāmara-bearers. The cāmara-bearers of Images Nos. 298/99 still follow the old formula The difference is instructive: Images which otherwise represent exactly the same stage in the development of the style (Nos. 298/99 on the one hand, and No. 301 on the other) employ in the case of one and the same motif formulas typical of *different periods*. The flat arch formed by the lowest row of curls is even more conspicuous than in the case of the "modern" Image No 277. The cāmara-bearers hold buds in their outer hands. This feature recurs in the geometrical class (§ 230). Between the cāmara-bearers and the yaksa (yaksī) a seated miniature-Jina is shown The pendant-like member of the cushion-decoration is reminiscent of No. 297. Below the yakṣa, and perhaps also below the yakṣī, a cihna is depicted in low relief (elephant below the yakṣa). For the transformation of a vāhana into a cihna compare Fig. 52. The throne-legs pierce the throne-bar and terminate above the die in a śikhara-like knob For the row of leaves compare Fig. 224.

The Iconography of the New Class

§ 216. The five innovations and the reduction of the iconographic programme in the modern images have already been discussed in § 207. Here we can add that uṣṇīsa, uṣṇīsa-lotus, and lateral strands are missing or inconspicuous in the New Class It would however appear that the lateral strands are nowhere absent in images with the bull-cihna. — Only one of the five innovations took the form of the actual introduction of a new element This was the hand-lotus which therefore constitutes the only new attribute in our class. The other four innovations only tend to render the relevant attributes more conspicuous, mainly because the elements of the parikara are now displayed on a larger surface so that they do no longer overlap each other (compare Fig. 226 with Fig. 199).

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE GODDESSES IN TEMPLE NO. 19[1]

§ 217. (Condition in 1957:) "The porch of No. 19 houses 4 goddesses which are in an extremely good state of preservation — apart from the fact that many of the arms are missing. To this may be added a fragment standing in the porch of Temple No. 15 which in Sahni's days was also kept in Temple No 19 (*List III* No. 104)". The art-thieves removed the heads of all figures except No. 305 After this the four images were shifted from Temple No. 19 to the Dharmshala. Individual details are as follows: *No. 302*, standing, height 5', Figs. 244 and 255; *No. 303*, standing, fragment measuring 11" in height, Fig. 247; *No. 304*, standing, 4'6.5", Fig. 248, *No. 305*, seated, 3'11", Fig. 250; *No 306*, seated, 4'1", Figs. 255A and 256. For reproductions compare *ASIAR* 1917/18 Pt I, Pl. 2b. c (Nos. 305/306) and SHAH, *Sarasvati*, Figs. 4, 31, 39 (Nos. 304, 305, 302). In the last-mentioned essay and in GOETZ, *The Art and Architecture of Bikaner State* (p. 87), our images are also mentioned in the text. The material of the five images is pale sandstone.

In the case of Image No. 302 only the four arms had been broken away before the depredations On the pedestal of the main-figure there appears an inscription in eight lines, and the pedestals of the monk and the nun at waist-level each carry an inscription of two lines. The bird-cihna on the pedestal and the long inscription on the same surface establish that the goddess represented is Sarasvatī. According to the two short inscriptions, the names of the ācārya and the nun are Tribhuvanakīrti and Silani respectively; compare for the inscriptions § 243 — Of the fragment No. 303 enough is left to demonstrate its close connection with Image No. 302: pedestal (carrying an inscription of six lines dated samvat 1126: § 244), feet-lotus of the main-figure; a male, seated adorant to the left and a female, seated adorant to the right, feet of the main-figure and of some attendant-figures. According to the inscription the name of the goddess is Padmīyatī. — Before the depredations Image No. 304 had sustained but minimal damage (nose of the main-figure etc.). An inscription consisting of a single name appears on the pedestal (§ 245). The iconographic type is without parallel; probably we are dealing with a contamination of Sarasvatī and Tārā. — Image No. 305 had lost most of its twenty arms along with their attributes (already recorded in 1957). A one-line inscription appears on the pedestal (§ 245). On account of her iconography the goddess can be identified as Cakreśvarī (either the vidyādevī or the yakṣī carrying this name). — Image No. 306 had lost seven of its eight arms along with their attributes. The lower right leg and the right edge of the projecting central portion of the pedestal are also missing. As a consequence, three to four akṣaras are missing from the ends of all six lines of the inscription. The text (§ 245) is almost identical with that of Image No 302. Identification of the goddess is no longer possible on account of the extensive damage.

All five images form a set, as has already been pointed out in the previous paragraph. The creation of this series reflects the growing popularity of female deities which were now more often than in the past represented as independent images and in the form of sets (com-

[1] Images Nos. 302-306.

pare the Yoginīs at Bheraghat, Naresar etc.). The five specimens can be divided into two groups and this subdivision corresponds with one (possibly two) exceptions to the subdivisions into standing (Nos. 302-304) and seated (Nos. 305/306) specimens. The standing Image No. 304 agrees in its dress and ornamentation with the two seated images (first exception?). The same was possibly also true of Image No. 303 in its complete state (second exception). However, the fragment No. 303 is so similar to No. 302 that it is more likely that the whole figure resembled the Sarasvatī No. 302 in the relevant details.

§ 218. We have already explained in § 207 why a detailed description of the five goddesses is called for. A marked feature of the series is the stylistic difference between the group 302-303-(304) and the group (304)-305-306. "Discrepancies" within a series may not be a rare occurrence but these are not often demonstrated with such clarity. We shall call the first group "traditional" and the second group "modern". In contrast to the images called "modern" *in the last chapter*, the modern tendency is in this case not brought out by a reduction of the iconographic programme but by the simplicity if not crudity of the individual forms — The parallels utilized are themselves as heterogeneous as our series: The two Pallu Sarasvatīs, a Sarasvatī from Dhar, and a Jina from Rajasthan are traditional, the Vaisnavī from Naresar and the Visnu from Bhilsa are modern. Mention must also be made of a large female figure on the right outer door-jamb of Temple No 12; this occupies an intermediate position.

Pallu is situated in the "Bikaner Division" and it is some 400 miles from Deogarh (as the crow flies). Pallu supplies two Sarasvatīs which are very similar to each other and which are made of polished white marble. Each goddess is set in a separate torana consisting of three parts. The toranas may however be disregarded, as such an element is not added in the case of our figures. One of the main differences between the two *goddesses* (apart from the two toraṇas) is the following: The Sarasvatī of Figs. 244A/245 is provided with two garland-bearers, appearing to the left and to the right of the bhāmandala ("Garland-Bearer Sarasvatī"), in the case of the other image (Fig. 246), the place of the garland-bearers is occupied by a double-leaf borrowed from the Jina-iconography ("Double-Leaf Sarasvatī"). Both images have been published, but only the photo in GOETZ, *Bikaner* (*ibid.* Fig. 9: Garland-Bearer Sarasvatī) is generally available. According to Goetz, the height of this piece is 3'5", i.e. 1'7" less than in the case of our Sarasvatī (No. 302). A short assessment of both specimens is found on pp. 86-87 of Goetz's publication. — The Sarasvatī at Dhar has been reproduced in CHANDA (Pl. 10 = our Fig. 254); a description is found on pp. 46-47 of the same book. The image carries an inscription with the date samvat 1091. The material is grey sandstone. The height is 4'3", i.e. little less than in the case of our Sarasvatī. — The Jina from Rajasthan has been reproduced in ZIMMER, Pl. 389. The height is 3'7", and the material is white marble. — The Vaisnavī from Naresar (samvat 1245) belongs to a series of Yoginīs which are now kept in the Gwalior Museum. Our Fig 251 is based on an unpublished photo in the same museum. — The Visnu from Bhilsa (samvat 1242) is also housed in the Gwalior Museum. It was on exhibition in Essen, Germany, in 1959 (*5000 Jahre Kunst aus Indien*, p. 384 = our Fig. 252). The height is 4'1". The stone is brown and most of its surface is polished. The door-jamb figure of Temple No 12 is dated by an inscription on the door-frame (samvat 1133, Fig. 249). — The Hari-Hara from Ghusai is earlier than the other images (Fig. 253).

§ 219. Before proceeding to describe the first image (No 302) a few words on the distribution of the attributes found on it. The lateral miniature-Jinas are derived from Jina-images.

The miniature-Jina above the head is however a sectarian mark, distinguishing a Jain deity from non-Jain deities. This motif occurs but rarely above the Jina himself, where it is of course superfluous. The Sarasvatī has *four female* attendant-figures of identical size. This is rare in North Indian iconography. A single pair of female figures can however be represented in the case of most gods although normally not in the case of the Buddha and the Jina (for sporadic use of female attendant-figures in Jina-images compare the next paragraph). Miniature-representations of monks are also found in *Hindu* images (compare Fig. 253 and *Das Kunstwerk* [Baden-Baden und Krefeld], Mai/Juni 1959, p. 36: Khajuraho). In our case, the two miniature-figures are of course characterized as a Jain ācārya and a Jain nun respectively. The adorants in secular garb and the triple lotus which carries the main-figure (and the two adorants) recur in Hindu iconography — compare the Khajuraho image just quoted. A goose-like bird — as it appears on the pedestal — is in the main only admissible as an attribute of Sarasvatī or Brahmā. The bhāmandala-motif and the garland-bearer motif are compatible with so many deities that the identification-value is minimal. In the case of *subsidiary figures*, the bhāmandala is however less common. It therefore deserves special mention that here (as well as in the case of the Jina from Rajasthan) the inner attendant-figures at least are represented with a bhāmandala.

§ 220. Image No. 302 and the fragment No. 303 can be described together. As in the case of the Jina-image from Rajasthan, a *small lotus* appears below the cihna of No. 302. The form of the lotus is approximately the same in both specimens. Obviously it has been transferred from the adorants (or from the attendant-figures) to the cihna — The *triple lotus* (in three disconnected parts) is only to be found in the case of No. 302 and of the Jina from Rajasthan. Image No 303 and the Pallu Sarasvatīs only show a central lotus, and the adorants sit on the pedestal itself. On the other hand, No. 302 has (in contrast to the Jina, the Garland-Bearer Sarasvatī, and No. 303) no scroll-work below the lotus. Even then the Jina from Rajasthan supplies the closest parallel to the lotus-motif of No. 302. — An earlier representation of the two adorants (male adorant with beard to the left, female adorant to the right) is found in an Akota bronze: SHAH, *Akota*, Fig. 55. The motif occurs at Deogarh in images of Jinas and non-Jinas but, apart from Images Nos. 302 and 303, always on such a small scale that one cannot decide whether the formula employed is exactly the same as in the case of our two images. [End of the description for No. 303.] — The *four* attendant-figures are the result of a duplication of the inner pair. They reflect the trend towards symmetry and frontality which is much more pronounced in Jain art than in contemporary Hindu art. Apart from Images Nos. 305/306, the Jina from Rajasthan supplies the closest parallel, but the inner attendant-figures of the Jina are male As this is a Jina, the representation of a second pair of attendant-figures (and of female attendant-figures at that) is unexpected. But parallels for the females are not missing. On the two west-pillars of the portico in front of Temple No. 12, miniature-Jinas with two female attendant-figures are represented (probably transferred from the Bāhubalin-motif, see Figs. 138 and 268). It is noteworthy that the outer figures of No. 302 and of the Jina differ from the respective inner figures: In both cases they have no bhāmaṇdala, and on Image No. 302 they are also shown without mukuṭa. Obviously the outer attendant-figures are later additions which — in contrast to the inner ones — were not provided with the full attire. The bhāmandalas of the inner figures of No. 302 are strictly speaking not circular halos but almond-shaped *aureoles* (compare the lateral standing Jinas of many Akota bronzes — SHAH, *Akota*, Figs. 22 etc.). The bare-headed outer attendant-figures of No. 302 have tall,

mukuṭa-like hair-styles. This is a medieval transformation of an earlier formula as found in the Ambikā-images Nos. 2-6 at Deogarh (compare ZANNAS, Pl. 103 etc.). All the four attendant-figures of our Sarasvatī place their outer hands against their thighs (thigh-posture). The two inner figures hold in their inner hands flame-like buds on long stalks (influence of the cāmara-heads which often look like flames). The two *outer* figures carry in their inner hands snakes rolled up so as to resemble lotus-flowers (compare ZANNAS, Pl. 165 extreme left); these snake-lotuses are however not visible in our photo. — The two monastic figures (ācārya to the left, nun to the right) show a somewhat unusual compromise between a front-view (below the navel) and a side-view (above the navel). The general trend is in this period to show some of the subsidiary figures of a composition from the side and in a seated position (e.g. compare Fig. 227 top). The right hand of the ācārya holds a rosary while the left hand is associated with a book (the hand rests on the book which in its turn is supported by the left knee). The right part of the ācārya-pedestal is damaged. Perhaps two alms-bowls were represented on this part of the surface as in the case of the nun-pedestal. In contrast to the nun, the ācārya sits on a small cushion and not directly on the ground. The nun holds a book in her left hand, whereas the representation of the right hand is too indistinct to admit any definite assertion. A broom has been pushed under the left arm of the nun. The two alms-bowls on the pedestal are depicted in very low relief. — The five miniature-Jinas stand on narrow bands and their parikaras only consist of the parasols and the double-leaves. The employment of single miniature-Jinas with a reduced parikara (in contrast to elaborate tritīrthikās etc) is quite in keeping with the tendency of the New Class, and the same of course applies to the arrangement of the double-leaves appearing *below* the parasols of the miniature-Jinas. The two seated Jinas at head-level no longer form an integral part of the lateral zones, but constitute instead a triangle along with the seated Jina above the head of the main-figure (compare Fig. 252). — The garland-bearers do not call for special attention. — Apart from the outer circular zone with the lozenges the bhāmandala is identical with that of the Garland-Bearer Sarasvatī at Pallu (leaf-circlet transformed into a prong-circlet bordered by a circular frieze of prongs pointing inwards). — None of the four hand-attributes has been preserved. It is however not impossible that the highly stylized lotus-blossom, lying as a fragment on the pedestal, originally belonged to our image. Size, stone and style are all in favour of such a supposition. The form is reminiscent of the lotus-flowers in the upper hands of a late-medieval Sarasvatī in the Luna Vasahi-temple on Mt. Abu (SHAH, *Sarasvati*, Fig. 34) Probably our fragment was originally also attached to one of the upper arms of the goddess. — The majority of parallels to the Pallu Sarasvatīs and indeed the clearest concern the treatment of dress and ornaments. No doubt, further parallels to this are furnished e.g. by the main idol in the Visnu-temple at Jatkari (near Khajuraho) and by a goddess at Pithaura, Nagod (SHAH, *Ambika*, Fig. 28). But in our case (Pallu Sarasvatīs on the one hand, Image No. 302 on the other) the connection is particularly close. Note the identical form of the chains suspended from the katisūtra, and of the ends of the *old* katisūtra (Fig. 310) visible on the real katisūtra (Fig. 288). Very marked is also the similarity of the lower parts of the armlets. The garlands of the Pallu Sarasvatīs run along the lower edge of the armlets in exactly the same manner as the *dupaṭṭā* of the Deogarh Sarasvatī. This formula is however quite common. In the case of the right arm of the Garland-Bearer Sarasvatī, the section of the garland immediately below the armlet even looks like the lower border of the armlet (compare No. 305), because the continuation in both directions is not visible. *In contrast* to the Pallu Sarasvatīs, the attire of the Deogarh Sarasvatī is not confined to metallic ornaments but includes also textiles (du-

paṭṭā, ends of the *old* katisūtra, scarf). — The posture of the Deogarh Sarasvatī resembles that of the Pallu Sarasvatīs, but at Deogarh the bend of the right thigh is not continued over the upper part of the body. The impression created thereby is not a happy one. Even apart from that, the modelling of our Sarasvatī can bear no comparison with the modelling of the two Pallu Sarasvatīs. The snake-like bent fingers of the Pallu Sarasvatīs present an exaggerated variant of an early-medieval formula (Figs 52 and 385). Thus we can call the treatment of the fingers a traditional feature which is as such *in keeping* with the general trend of the images (only the toranas are absolutely modern in concept).

§ 221. The parikara of the third standing goddess (No. 304) is identical with that of a Jina of the New Class, except that the cāmara-bearers are female and that a tritīrthikā occupies the place of the parasol-unit. This is however not to say that there are any exact parallels to the parikara of the goddess amongst the Jina-images. — On the face of the pedestal an unidentified elongated object is incised. The projecting central portion of the pedestal is flanked by two adorants who sit on lotus-flowers. The one to the left is a monk, as seen from the broom, the one to the right is a male figure in secular attire. In the case of the right-hand figure, the end of the dupattā (hanging down from the left arm) corresponds to the broom of the figure opposite. This is probably no coincidence, but an instance of substitution. The law of symmetry is not observed in the case of the two miniature-figures above the cāmaras of the cāmara-bearers. This is because the artist wanted to represent the ideal number of 24 miniature-Jinas. As one Jina is to be depicted above the head of the deity, it is not possible to ensure even distribution of the other 23 In order to lessen the impression of asymmetry, the last Jina on the right was matched by a kalaśa-bearer to the left One min.-Jina of the tritīrthikā above the head is a Pārśva. The two other Jinas of the tritīrthikā (and the two Jinas to the right and to the left of the head of the goddess) are the only ones to have a bhāmandala (pseudo-differentiation in rows). The lotus in the left hand of the goddess is doubled, not by a back-to-back arrangement of two blossoms as in the case of the "viśvapadma" (SHAH, *Ambika*, Fig. 29), but by superimposing a small bud on a larger bud (SHAH, *Sarasvati*, Fig. 34). On account of her attributes, we can identify the goddess as one of several variants of the Jain Tārā. — The figure is very similar to the two big female figures of the outer door-frame of Temple No. 12 (date of the door-frame: samvat 1133), see Fig. 249. As observed already it resembles in the treatment of dress and ornaments the two *seated* Images Nos. 305-306, and not the standing Image No. 302.

§ 222. If we compare the Cakreśvarī No. 305 with contemporary Viṣṇu-images of the same type (i.e. Viṣṇu-on-Garuḍa), we are led to assume that the goddess is just the female form of Viṣṇu It must however be borne in mind that our Cakreśvarī is basically a many-armed "yoginī", and that the yoginī-character is only less apparent because of the loss of so many arms. Moreover the parikara-top is occupied by Jain figures which would not appear on the parikara-top of a *Viṣṇu*-image (a tritīrthikā, and the goddesses Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī to the left and to the right). In the case of the Viṣṇu-image we would expect the triad Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Śiva Finally the two groups of three attendant figures suggest that a Jain goddess is represented. A goddess, because the female element is predominant, and a *Jain* goddess, because the figures have no connection with Hindu iconography. It is true that the Viṣṇu of the Essen exhibition has two female cāmara-bearers, but this may be due to Jain influence. Normally the Hindu element and the male element is in evidence in the case of Viṣṇu's

attendant-figures. The female sex of Cakreśvarī is indicated not only by the breasts but also by the absence of the śrīvatsa-mark (which is not an individual attribute of Viṣṇu but an attribute of many gods, distinguishing them from goddesses). — It might be assumed that Cakreśvarī is just the Jain variant of Vaiṣṇavī, the female counterpart of Viṣṇu. It would however appear that Cakreśvarī and Vaiṣṇavī were derived independently from Viṣṇu. Obviously the Jain Cakreśvarī (particularly the "yakṣī" Cakreśvarī of the medieval period) is a truer copy of Viṣṇu (i.e. of Viṣṇu-on-Garuḍa) than Vaiṣṇavī.

§ 223. In the case of Cakreśvarī (No. 305, cf. Fig. 252 = Visnu) a description of the individual elements of the composition is required. The seated Image No. 306 is less original so that a description of a few individual features will suffice (§ 224 below). — The Garuḍa of Cakreśvarī may be compared with the Garuḍas in Figs. 227 and 252, but it is completely identical with neither. The right arm which has now been broken away originally supported the right foot of the goddess (this part is now also missing). Noteworthy are Garuda's various attributes, some of which are more clearly visible in Figs. 227 and 252: yajñopavīta formed by a snake; two wings attached to the body in front of the arms, beard; strand-circle; fillet formed by a snake. — The two adorants repeat on a small scale the formula of Image No. 302. — On the pedestal two lotus-nodes are depicted, a larger specimen behind the right leg of Garuda, and a smaller specimen behind his left leg. As we have seen already, use is made of a small lotus-node in certain representations of miniature-Jinas (Figs. 199 and 375). More complete forms are also found. They occur in a variety of contexts: with an ācārya (*Khajuraho*, Fig. 4[1]); with a Jina (*Khajuraho*, Fig. 2), on a lower door-jamb (*Distinction*, Fig. 87); with a Buddhist goddess (P. L. GUPTA, *Patna Museum Catalogue*, Pl. 25 right). It is true that the larger lotus-node of our Cakreśvarī serves a technical purpose (support of the completely undercut main-figure). But that the artist availed himself of this particular motif is a matter of iconographic interest. — The two outer attendant-figures are male, the remaining four attendant-figures are female. All the six figures place their outer hands against their thighs and hold lotuses in their inner hands. In the case of the male attendant-figures, the lotuses take the shape of small buds (compare the cāmara-bearers of the Large Śānti); in the case of the female figures, the "lotuses" are actually snakes (assimilated to a lotus in the same way as in the case of the outer attendant-figures of Image No. 302). The two figures in the middle have their legs crossed (compare Fig. 58). — The throneframe-animals of the receding outer lateral zones are highly stylized. The animals are the usual ones and the usual arrangement is adhered to (from bottom to top: elephant, vyāla, makara). In addition to that, a warrior is represented at the top of the outer lateral zones (standing on a lotus which is not visible in the photo). The parikara-top is mainly occupied by three miniature-images: a tritīrthikā in the top centre, a Lakṣmī-image and a Sarasvatī-image to the left and to the right respectively. The iconography of the two goddesses is as follows:

Lakṣmī:	Lotus (bud on a thick stalk)	lotus (as to the left)
	varada-gesture	water-jar
Sarasvatī:	Lotus (as above)	book
	(both lower hands:) v ī	n ā

[1] In the *text* of the article (p. 28, *second* paragraph), the figures of p. 30 are erroneously numbered from bottom to top.

The same sequence (Lakṣmī-tritīrthikā-Sarasvatī) appears on the lintel of the inner door-frame of Temple No. 12, and similar formulas underly the decoration of the door-frames of other Jain temples. It might well be said that Laksmī-Jina-Sarasvatī is a typical lintel(or parikara-top)-formula of the Jains, just as Viṣṇu-Śiva-Brahmā is a typical lintel-formula of the Hindus. — The outer musicians play the flute, while the inner ones perform on *jhallarī* or cymbal (left) and conch (right) respectively. — The garland-bearing couples have no special features. — The following hand-attributes of the main-figure have been preserved:

Disk (plain and closed)	disk (plain with opening in centre)
disk (with spokes and opening in centre)	disk (as to the left)
disk (plain with opening in centre)	shield (and splay-gesture)
broken	broken
broken	broken
broken	broken
broken	broken
broken	broken
broken	broken
rosary (and varada-gesture)	conch (and splay-gesture)

One of the right hands carried a mace the knob of which is still visible. The disks without spokes show concentric rings. Four disks have an opening, in two cases a cloth emerges from this aperture, and in two cases the aperture serves as a hand-grip. The two spoked disks are held in a fanciful manner by the suspended cloth. This formula is very common (compare *Ancient India* 6, Fig. 31: vertical appendages of the disks). Dharmacakras with garlands are already represented at Bharhut (COOMARASWAMY, *Bharhut*, Figs. 28 and 66)[1]. — The hand with rosary is treated in the same manner as in Image No. 304. — The posture is the lalitāsana. In the case of the Images Nos. 304-306 the ornaments on the body consist mainly of strings of pearls (compare the figures on the outer door-frame of Temple No. 12 mentioned already). The differences between the three images are minimal. Both in Images Nos. 304 and 302 the dupattā is rendered as a piece of cloth, but in Image No. 305 it has been transformed into or replaced by a sort of garland (compare the two Pallu Sarasvatīs). The "dupaṭṭā" of Image No. 306 follows the same formula. In Fig. 248 (No. 304), the dupattā is visible only immediately below the armlets. In Fig. 250 (No. 305) we see the dupattā not only where it is attached to the arms but also on the right calf (immediately above the lower end of the stump). It is possible that the "dupaṭṭā" of the heavily damaged seated goddesses Nos. 305/306 did not terminate in two separate ends but formed a ring In that case it would not be a dupaṭṭā but a fully fledged garland as found on the two Pallu Sarasvatīs and on the Garuḍa of Image No. 305 (resting on the upper section of Garuda's right arm, running below his right thigh etc.). — The ear-lobes of Nos. 304-306 have been drawn through a ring; the ring is secured by a peg which pierces the end of the ear-lobe. — The form of the mukuṭa of our Cakreśvarī is basic-

[1] There are certain analogies in the stylization of hand-attributes and written letters. Thus we find in the case of *hand-attributes* vertical appendages, splay-gestures of the hands, partial transformation into vegetable forms (*Distinction*, Figs. 77-79), bending of straight and solid elements (*Distinction*, Fig 90). In the case of the *script* we are dealing with box-heads, nail-heads, top-mātrās, dandas etc. — Stylization of hand-attributes reflects no doubt the usual form-principles. However, the hand-attributes form a rather homogeneous category of elements, and therefore their stylization at times tends to be *homogeneous* as the stylization of the script.

ally the same as in the case of the Sarasvatī (low cylinder), but the six attendant-figures of Image No. 305 bear *tall* cylindrical mukutas. Otherwise the main-figures and attendant-figures of our four images wear conical mukuṭas (except the two bare-headed [*sic!*] outer attendant-figures of Image No. 302).

§ 224. Image No. 306 is a replica of No. 305 and requires little comment. Seven out of the eight arms have been broken away, only the lower left one being preserved. It holds a fruit, but even in connection with the vāhana (buffalo?) the fruit does not suffice to identify the figure. The name appears in the inscription but it cannot be read with absolute certainty (§ 245). The goddess has four attendant-figures. The inner attendants are cāmara-bearers of the ordinary type (thigh-posture of the outer hands / cāmaras in the inner hands). In the case of the left-hand outer figure, the objects in the hands are depicted more or less distinctively but identification is not possible. The corresponding figure to the right places her left hand on the thigh, while the right (inner) hand is not depicted, it has not been chiselled out from the stone. Between the two right-hand attendant-figures a small lotus-node is depicted. The lateral miniature-*images* appear at head-level and do not form an integral part of the parikara-top (as was the case with the previous image). If we are not mistaken, the right-hand female figure shows the following hand-attributes:

Lotus (on a long stalk)	book
varada-gesture	water-jar

The left-hand female figure shows a triple hood-circle and apparently carries snakes in all her four hands. Whereas there is no doubt that the figure depicted to the right is Sarasvatī, we cannot identify the figure to the left. At the top of each of the outer lateral zones there appears a seated two-armed male figure (no counterpart in Image No. 305). The right hand displays in both cases the abhaya-gesture whereas the left hand of the left-hand figure carries a water-jar. The left hand of the *right*-hand figure is broken As in the case of the previous image, four musicians are depicted on the parikara-top. The outer left-hand figure is blowing a conch, whereas the three other figures beat various types of drums.

§ 225. The five images are closely connected. The inscription of No. 306 (the most advanced image) is almost identical with the inscription of No. 302 (the most traditional image in the series). From the point of view of style and iconography, No. 302 is closely related to No. 303 whereas No. 306 is closely related to No. 305. That No. 304 cannot be separated from the rest need not be emphasized As the inscription of No. 303 is dated samvat 1126 (§ 244) we can assign all five images to the third decade of the 12th samvat century.

It has already been said in § 218 that Nos. 302/303 are traditional while Nos. 305/306 are modern in appearance. The Image No. 304 combines modern and traditional features. According to § 284 the five images are an instance of "discrepancy" (No. 302: filigree-like hip-ornaments = traditional, Nos. 303-06: massive hip-ornaments = modern formula). Discrepancy is of course not restricted to the hip-ornaments. The mukuṭa of No. 302 also shows the filigree-like structure which is absent from the mukutas of the three remaining goddesses. Images Nos. 302 and 303 show some sort of tribhanga whereas the seated goddesses reflect in their rigidity the geometrical tendencies found *inter alia* in the Geometrical Class. One would therefore expect the tribhanga of the standing figures to have been transformed into the erect attitude which is more in harmony with the tendencies of the period. Examples of

such a transformation are not missing (see SHAH, *Sarasvati*, Fig. 20). — The bhāmaṇḍalas demonstrate the growing preference for geometrical forms most clearly. The central zone of the bhāmaṇḍala of the Double-Leaf Sarasvatī from Pallu is still occupied by a leaf-circlet. In the case of the Garland-Bearer Sarasvatī from the same place and in the case of our Image No. 302, the leaf-circlet has been transformed into a prong-circlet, still reminiscent of the leaf-circlet and of delicate workmanship. In Nos. 304-06 however, the leaf-circlet / prong-circlet has been replaced by an entirely new motif, a crude geometrical prong-circlet.

Some of the parallels quoted in § 218 have already been discussed in the description of the five images, others have not. The Sarasvatī from Dhar is interesting on account of the date (samvat 1091). She represents the traditional trend but is an instance of a different stylistic idiom rather than a parallel — [The attendants of the Jina from Rajasthan are reminiscent of attendant-figures in Gupta images (e.g. compare KRAMRISCH, *Art*, Pl. 54). Apart from discrepancies in the general sense there were occasionally tendencies to revive or to preserve the spirit of earlier periods. Here we have to use the word "spirit" because iconographic and stylistic details of the earlier period were normally not shown. Another instance of this are crude forms of Kusāṇa character in the Gupta and early-medieval periods (COOMARASWAMY, Fig. 102 and our Figs. 63, 75). Coomaraswamy's early date of the image quoted ("Kusāṇa") had to be revised by J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw ("post-Gupta period"). See *Arts Asiatiques* IV, pp. 222 foll] — The Hari-Hara from Ghusai has been reproduced as it foreshadows the composition of Image No. 305. — In Image No. 305, the geometrical trend has already reached its climax (squarish and angular structure of main-figure and vāhana). The Viṣṇu from Bhilsa (samvat 1242) and the goddess from Naresar (samvat 1245) show a certain simplification of the composition, but as regards structure and treatment of the ornaments they do not differ much from Nos. 305/06.

The waist-ornaments of Nos. 304-06 no doubt fit into the modern trend. They are also *rendered* according to the modern trend But strictly speaking their employment is an archaism (see *Lalit Kalā* 8, Pl. 29-30: Mātrkās from Devangana).

Refer also to § 272 (on classes outside Deogarh).

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE GEOMETRICAL CLASS OF THE HIGH-RELIEF STYLE[1]

§ 226. As the name suggests, this class is distinguished from the preceding one by the increasing use of geometrical forms. This is most apparent from the anatomy. The body of the figures seems to be composed of geometrical solids, and the expression of the face is both menacing and apathetic on account of the wide-open eyes. The parikara is either rich[2] or extremely reduced (compare the modern images of the previous class). Moreover there is a tendency to replace the rich parikaras by simple parikaras, but this is not very conspicuous at Deogarh itself because here production stopped before the late phase of the geometrical period got under way. In the later centuries simple parikaras are of course quite common (compare the unsophisticated rock-cut sculptures of Gwalior Fort and Chanderi Fort). — As indicated already, the geometrical tendency prevails over a wide geographical area. But this does not mean that differences in idiom are not met with. The term "Geometrical Class" is therefore restricted to images at Deogarh and its immediate vicinity, i.e. to images which keep alive the trends of the three High-Relief Classes described earlier. Non-Jina images belonging to the Geometrical Class normally show the motif of the Sacred Couple. Compare KRAMRISCH, *Hindu Temple* II, Pl. 54; the relevant image is fixed in the eastern outer wall of Deogarh Temple No. 23. Geometrical tendencies are of course not confined to the period under consideration. An instance of this is provided by the Large Śānti. The iconographical and stylistic gap between Nos. 1 and 311 (Figs. 7 and 258) can certainly not be overlooked. It is also true that in the days of the Large Śānti geometrical tendencies were restricted to certain motifs and specimens. Nevertheless we cannot fail to observe that the body of the Large Śānti was also composed of geometrical solids. Besides, the flat character and the lack of cohesion found in the Geometrical Class show a return to some of the less happy facets of the early-medieval style. — The number of geometrical images at Deogarh being limited, grouping becomes difficult. We shall however discuss first the images with rich parikara (§ 227: standing images; § 228: seated images) and afterwards images with reduced parikara.

§ 227. Image No. 307 (Temple No. 3) bears an inscription dated samvat 1207 or 1209. As Fig. 257 shows, the image has sustained extensive damage. The lateral zones and the parikara-top are missing completely, but enough remains to show that the composition is similar to that of Image No. 238, Fig. 199 (tripartite pedestal, lion-throne with legs, broad lateral zones). The prong-circlet of the bhāmandala is reminiscent of Images Nos. 304-306. — Image No. 308 (Fig. 20, right) belongs to Wall-Section V (extreme right) and dates from samvat 1176 Together with No. 309 (Wall-Section IV, Fig. 107) it forms a pair (in the sense of set and of group). — Image No. 310 stands in Temple No. 20 and carries an undated inscription. Its composition is similar to that of Image No. 307. It is however approximately twice as large. The double-elephants are reminiscent of Image No. 271 (Fig. 224), but here kalaśa-bearers facing outwards are seen on the inner elephants. In addition to the four elephants of the

[1] Images Nos. 307-319. — The great number of damaged images is worthy of note (see § 330).

[2] The tritīrthikā-type which is *extremely* rich (§ 231) does not concern us here.

parikara-top, two further elephants are represented as vāhanas of the cāmara-bearers. This is a further step towards assimilation to the seated images than is represented by Nos. 307 and 236-238. The lateral strands are divided (compare Fig. 261). They partly hang down in front of the shoulders (the traditional formula of the High-Relief Style); and partly they lie on the top of the shoulders (represented by four juxtaposed curls on each shoulder). In the *angles* formed by the bhāmandala and the back-plate of the main-figure, conches are substituted for the traditional makara-protomai (compare again Fig. 261). A distant parallel for both motifs (division of the lateral strands and "angle-motif") is supplied by Image No. 33 of the Uncouth Class (Fig. 82; angle-motif in the form of a makara). — Image No. 311 in Temple No. 25 (Fig. 258) is life-size. As far as the High-Relief Style is concerned, images of this size are rare prior to the geometrical period. Deogarh in particular has not a single life-size or colossal image of the High-Relief Style which antedates the Geometrical Class. Again No. 311 is the only large-size high-relief image at Deogarh which has a fully developed parikara. — Image No. 312 (Fig. 259) stands in Temple No. 26. It shows a few fanciful forms. Here the *curls* are "divided": The segment formed by the raised hair-line is covered with smaller curls than the rest of the head. The bhāmaṇḍala is replaced by a completely indefinable motif which contains vegetable forms (reminiscent of tree-trunk and double-leaf).

§ 228. The two seated Images Nos. 313 and 314 (Temple No. 3) form a pair (group and set). The back-plate of No. 313 is broken above the head, whereas Image No. 314 (Figs. 261/262) has sustained but light damage (the parasol-unit has been broken away). For the treatment of the lateral strands, the curls, and the conches (angle-motif) compare Fig. 261 and the observations on Image No 310. The pedestal of No. 314 (Fig. 262) shows that the art of this period is at times imaginative. Note the brisk treatment of the kīrtimukha-motif on the throne-blanket and the tense attitude of the lions.

§ 229. We shall describe five images with reduced parikara (Nos. 315-319). All except the last show the Jina standing. Image No 315 belongs to Wall-Section II and is broken below the calves of the Jina. Distinguishing features are: the unusually flat relief of tree-trunk and double-leaf as well as the use of Ambikā as the right-hand attendant (the opposite attendant-figure is a cāmara-bearer as usual). Ambikā as attendant-figure already appears in the Drum-Style (Fig. 139 left). The lateral strands lie on the top of the shoulders (the new formula, mentioned already in the description of Image No. 310). — Image No. 316 belongs to Wall-Section III. The piece shows three double-leaves *above* the parasol and one double-leaf (with tree-trunk) *below* the parasol. — Image No. 317 belongs to Wall-Section III (extreme right) and carries an inscription dated samvat 1220. It is of poor workmanship, heavily damaged (back-wall broken away above the head) and is contemporary with the image of Fig. 257 (No. 307, samvat 1207 or 09). Therefore we have refrained from publishing it although it bears a date. — Image No. 318 is the colossal main idol of Temple No. 28 (compare the drawing of its lower part in *Khajuraho*, Fig. 3). The piece bears an undated inscription. The parikara-top has been oversimplified. Only the following are represented: bhāmaṇḍala, single garland-bearers and double-leaf (three small leaves to the left and to the right); there is no parasol.

Image No. 319 stands in Temple No. 31 and is, along with Image No. 296, the only seated image with a reduced parikara (Fig. 263). The Jina has lateral strands, although the conch-cihna clearly identifies him as Ariṣṭanemi (22nd Jina). Two aksaras have been incised to the left of the cihna. The relief of the pedestal is extremely low.

The Iconography of the Geometrical Class

§ 230. The images show a few features which were either completely absent from the previous class or else occurred but sporadically. We are referring above all to experiments with the hair. Mention has been made of the division of the lateral strands (Fig. 261), the raised hair-line (Fig. 259), and of the division of the curls (again Fig. 259). Peculiar is also the arrangement of the curls in a standing image in Wall-Section XII not previously mentioned: To the left and to the right of the forehead there appear four prominent curls which are arranged to form a square. This may be dismissed as the fancy of an individual artist, but in reality it is certainly typical of the period. The cāmara-bearers show in a number of cases the formula "cāmaras in the inner hands, lotus-buds in the outer hands" (Figs. 258 and 263). This formula made its first appearance in the previous class (Fig. 241). In Fig. 263 the bud has been given the shape of a lemon. The lotus-buds as well as the parasol-sticks (or tree-trunks) are reminiscent of early-medieval iconography. In one case the old and the new formula for the double-leaf occur side by side (Image No. 316). The same is probably not true of No. 311 (Fig. 258). There a small double-leaf is represented to the left and to the right of the drummer in addition to the big double-leaf below the parasol. This is a case of transfer (from the Jina to the drummer) rather than of juxtaposition because the small double-leaf is closely connected with the drummer. In one case the parasol has not been shown (No. 318). Conversely the standing image No. 310 shows a remarkable extension of the normal iconographic programme of the standing images. In one case Ambikā has been used as an attendant-figure (No. 315).

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTERS 7-15

§ 231. The present chapter is devoted to various Jina-images which have not been described previously. We shall survey a few new types and describe a number of individual images. We start with two special types of the High-Relief Style. Mention was already made on previous occasions of the Frieze-Slab Type (Fig. 210) and of the Tritīrthikā-Type (Fig. 264). The Frieze-Slab Type is represented by something less than 50 slabs (average height 2'3") of a design which is virtually only found at Deogarh. Most of the slabs are seen on and around Temple No 1 (see Chapter 3) as well as on Wall-Section XVI. The slabs show in the first place Jinas and in the second place ācāryas. Noteworthy but rare are representations of Bharata, Bāhubalin, and Sarasvatī. If we assume that these slabs formed a continuous frieze then we have to imagine that this consisted basically of two different units: seated images (Jinas or ācāryas) on the one hand and rows of three standing figures (Jina, Bharata, Bāhubalin, Sarasvatī) on the other. This is however not to say that "unit" and "slab" coincided necessarily (there were slabs with two units and so on). The type is interesting both from the point of view of iconography and from the point of view of style. The iconographic interest centers principally not so much on the representations of Bharata, Bāhubalin, and Sarasvatī (one instance) as on those of the ācāryas For representations of ācāryas differ from case to case (even more than Pārśva-images, not to speak of Jina-images). The stylistic importance stems from the fact that the type remained popular for a long period. This is therefore one of those instances where the stylistic development can be traced easily as the iconographic type remained the same for a comparatively long period (compare § 197 on the Leaf-Circlet Group). The Frieze-Slab Type supplies parallels both to the Resting Class and to the Geometrical Class. The two other Classes made no impact on our type. For this the Hovering Class was too complicated. An influence of the "New Class" could not be expected anyway because this term does not describe a section of uniform images but marks an intermediate stage between the Geometrical Class and the first two Classes.

The images of the Tritīrthikā-Type are distinguished from No. 300 (i.e. No. 300 except the ācārya-zone) primarily in two respects. They are not monolithic but consist of several parts. Again each of the three Jinas has a complete parikara. Normally a tritīrthikā is made up of four parts: a seated Jina in the centre, one standing to the left and one to the right, and an arch over it which rounds off the composition. A comparatively large number of tritīrthikās (until 1957 in a good state of preservation) can be seen at Pachrahi. At Deogarh we get the following remains: a fragmentary top-portion in each of the Wall-Sections IV and XI; a lateral Jina in Temple No. 19; various standing Jinas of which it is not possible to say whether they originally belonged to a tritīrthikā or not[1]; a tritīrthikā which is complete (except for the seated Jina) on the śukanāsā of Temple No. 28 (Fig. 264); a fragmentary tritīrthikā in each of

[1] We are referring to standing images with throneframe-animals on one side Although this may appear rather unlikely one cannot exclude the possibility that the type of the lateral tritīrthikā-Jinas was occasionally used for independent standing images.

the Shrines Nos. 29 and 30. All these tritīrthikās belong either to the New Class or to the Geometrical Class. They all show characteristics of the last two classes, and there is no specimen which could be attributed to one of the *first* two classes.

We have already seen in § 151 that the tritīrthikā reproduced as Fig. 264 is not complete: The seated Jina, with the throne, in the centre (and the slab with the chess-board pattern below it) are not original. The original parts belong to the Geometrical Class. The crowning member shows decorative elements not met with hitherto. Besides, the composition offers a number of features which concern iconography in its narrowest sense. The projecting central portions of the pedestals of the standing Jinas do not take the shape of lion-thrones but are occupied by a yaksa and a yakṣī. The seated miniature-Jinas of the crowning member are placed on lotuses (depicted clearly only on the top panel); compare Fig. 376. The cāmara-tops and some of the objects held by the yakṣas and yaksīs take the shape of flames. The parasol-top above the central Jina (this Jina is of course no longer extant) apparently consists of four members with a fifth member, not recognizable in the photo, above it. Pārśva (with seven hoods) and Supārśva (with five hoods) flank the composition (see § 187).

§ 232. So far we have considered miniature-Jinas only where they appeared as subsidiary figures in independent Jina-images. Besides, we find miniature-Jinas (normally of a somewhat larger size) in outer-wall niches (Fig. 249), on door-frames (jambs and lintels), on capitals of votive pillars (Fig. 267), on relief-pillars (Fig. 268), on sahasrabimba-pillars and similar pillars (Fig. 3), on caumukhas (Figs. 265-66), and finally on pattas (Fig. 27). The miniature-Jinas are represented either with or without parikara and sometimes both types occur side by side in one and the same composition (Fig. 199). — Besides Jinas we see non-Jinas (Fig. 269).

§ 233. The Jina-images at Deogarh and in its neighbourhood are on the whole in close conformity with the artistic conventions. There are however a few exceptions and these are particularly noteworthy on account of the fact that they all concern *Pārśva*-images. We have already seen that the iconography of Pārśva's attendant-figures sometimes deviates from the normal formula (§ 78 etc.). We also know that the treatment of the snake(s) varies considerably (cf. Figs. 238 and 243). To this may be added a few isolated instances. Thus Temple No. 6 houses a Pārśva-image which belongs stylistically to the Resting Class. Here the standing Jina in the centre is flanked by two theriomorphous snakes, each with three heads (Fig. 260). The hood-circle of the Jina is missing but there can hardly be any doubt that the Jina represented is Pārśva. — Another curious Pārśva-image (obviously later than the one just mentioned) belongs to Wall-Section V. Here the rendering of the Jina is conventional (sevenfold hood-circle), but the cihna (depicted on the throne-blanket) is a bird. The cihna prescribed for Pārśva is a theriomorphous snake. As this is not required for purposes of identification it is normally not depicted (at Deogarh, Pārśva's cihna is only found in the case of the Frieze-Slab Type). As the bird-cihna is only prescribed for the 5th and 14th Jinas, we are dealing here with a deliberate or fortuitous mistake. The image has a very poor parikara. — Thirdly we find at Deogarh a double-image with two Jinas which are both depicted with five hoods instead of the usual seven (Fig. 126). This is the only instance at Deogarh where two Jinas with five hoods are shown side by side. Besides, this is the only example of completely independent Jinas with five hoods that occurs at Deogarh. There is no means of establishing whether two Pārśvas or two Supārśvas are meant by these, as we cannot project the conventions of the medieval period back to the early-medieval period. — Outside Deogarh we

meet with a very rare type of Pārśva-image which shows the central figure being attacked by demons. One specimen stands opposite the entrance to the Mālādevī-temple at Gyaraspur. The image is badly mutilated but belongs in all probability to the medieval period. — Finally we have to mention a late rock-cut Jina-image in the Urvahi-valley of Gwalior Fort. Here the artist has represented a seated Pārśva with lateral strands, holding a book in both hands. The hood-circle is sevenfold and the snake-cihna is depicted in low relief on the cushion. Apart from the Jinas with hand-lotuses this is the only instance known to the author where a Jina is depicted with an object in his hands.

§ 234. In connection with the iconographic *curiosa* we can mention three seated Jina-images to the west of the Rampart, which are *modelled in the round.* Only one of the three images has its head intact and this specimen shows that the three pieces belong to the Geometrical Class. All that remains of the parikara of the three pieces is the cushion. Seated Jinas modelled in the round appear also on the four sides of the colossal caumukha at the village of Indor. It is nevertheless not possible to establish the original context of the three images under consideration.

§ 235. In the course of the work on the temples carried out in this century the ācārya-image of Fig. 270 was unearthed. It had been buried to protect it from the iconoclasts (compare *Bikāner Jain Lekh Sangrah* by A. NAHTA and B. NAHTA, Vīra Samvat 2482, Plate opp. p. 409, bottom: photos of two unearthed Jina-images from Amarsar). Apart from very slight damage to the book held by the ācārya the piece is completely intact. It now stands in the cella of the upper storey of Temple No. 11. The face of the pedestal carries an inscription in five lines dated samvat 1333:

Line 1 sam 1333 Jestha va di 10 Ravau śrī-Namdisamghe Balātkāra-gaṇe ācaya
2 śrī-Kanakacamdradeva tasya siṣyah Laksmīcamdradeva tasya siṣya Himacaṃ-
3 dradeva | Rāmacamdra | tasya mātā Sāgarasiri | tasya celī Solasi-
4 ri | Udayasiri chātra (lacuna of one centimeter) Nāmadeva || praṇamati nityam || (unidentified symbol)
5 sūtradhāra Mana-suta Hasau | esā mūrtri ghaṭitā |

"In the year samvat 1333, on the tenth day of the dark half of the month Jyaiṣṭha. In the Nandisangha, in the Balātkāra (flourished) the ācārya Kanakacandradeva. His disciple was Laksmīcandradeva. His disciples were Himacandradeva (and) Rāmacandra (supply "-deva"?). His (i.e. Rāmacandra's) mother was Sāgarasiri. His (Rāmacandra's) female students were Solasiri (and) Udayasiri. His student was Nāmadeva. He (i.e. Nāmadeva) pays homage unceasingly. The sculptor (literally: architect) Hasau, the son of Mana, has made this image." — It would also be possible to supply between Himacandradeva and Rāmacandra *tasya śiṣya* ("his disciple"), but probably the two names are parallel like Solasiri and Udayasiri where the copula is also missing. It is noteworthy that only the mother of the spiritual teacher Rāmacandra is mentioned, whereas no such data are supplied in the case of the three persons who were the students of Rāmacandra (Solasiri, Udayasiri, and Nāmadeva). The simplest explanation would seem to be that all four (the three students and Rāmacandra himself) were brothers and sisters. Another point in favour of this is that the names of the two female students and of their mother end in *-siri*. It would appear that one of the sons renounced the world while the other three who call themselves his students, along with their widowed mother, donated

the image. The singular *praṇamati* ("bows") hardly excludes the possibility that the other persons were also concerned with the donation. — "Sūtradhāra" either has an extended meaning (including "sculptor") or the sculptor was primarily an architect. On account of the ending *-au*, *manasutabasau* seems to be a dual form A better translation is however obtained if we regard *Hasau* as a proper name.

The image has no parallels at Deogarh, but it is in keeping with the local ācārya-iconography which originated not much earlier than samvat 1100 (compare Fig. 269: ācārya on a capital dated samvat 1207). The two ācāryas of Image No. 300 (Figs. 231-33) could be compared for their style. In fact, No. 300 supplies the only other instance of comparatively large ācārya-images. But stylistically the present image belongs to a quite new phase which shows the following characteristics:

(1) Preference for smooth surfaces. This is reflected by the technique and by the selection of the material (marble, brass).

(2) Figures largely modelled in the round and no longer in relief.

(3) Adoption of smaller scale (not only in the case of brass figures but also in the case of stone sculpture).

(4) Disappearance of the geometrical tendencies in the anatomy.

(5) Frequency of child-like features.

Our image shows most of these characteristics. It consists of carefully smoothed pale sandstone. Two adorants and an alms-bowl to the left are all that remains of the parikara. Decorative features are completely absent. Only few features are still reminiscent of the old style (nipples, eyebrows, and hair). The new style indicates the eyebrows by a ridge. In addition to this, eyebrows according to the old formula have been depicted above this ridge (juxtaposition). Noteworthy is the realistic treatment of the left foot (toes bent inwards) and of the folds of the abdomen.

Stylistic parallels are supplied by a Jina in a private collection (Fig. 271) and by the Rsabha from Rajasthan mentioned already (ZIMMER, 389). It is true that the three images differ not only iconographically but also stylistically. There are however noteworthy parallels in detail. Note for example the treatment of the nose and of the toes in Figs. 270 and 271. The stylistic similarity of the two images is obscured *inter alia* by the adherence to the old formula for the eyebrows in the case of the Deogarh ācārya.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

EPIGRAPHICAL LINKS BETWEEN IMAGES OF THE HIGH-RELIEF STYLE

THE GUṆANANDIN- AND CIHNA-GROUPS[1]

§ 235 A The Image No. 251 of the Leaf-Circlet Group of the Hovering Class is connected with ten objects, eight of which also belong to Temple No. 21. The link is provided by reference in inscriptions to a certain Gunanandin on the one hand and by a peculiar rendering of the cihna (incision in a uniform style) on the other. As far as the ten objects are images or parts thereof they belong to the Resting Class or to the Hovering Class; a single image (No. 297) can be attributed to the New Class.

Inscriptions link Image No. 251 (Fig 211 — Temple No. 21, right room) with the two Images Nos. 243 (Fig. 200 — Temple No. 21, left room) and 250 (also Temple No. 21, left room), and with the two pedestals Nos 268 (Fig. 221 — Temple No. 19, veranda) and 297 (Fig. 240 — Temple No. 2, veranda). The images belong to the Hovering Class (No. 251) and to the Resting Class (Nos. 243 and 250); the first pedestal belongs to the Hovering Class and the second to the New Class. The pedestal No 268 (Fig 221) is distantly related to the pedestal of Image No. 243 of the Resting Class (pedestal not visible in Fig. 200), but primarily it is connected with Image No. 266 of the Hovering Class (Fig. 220)[2]. For that reason we have attributed it to the Hovering Class (§ 199) However the classification has no special significance in the present context — as it has anyway been established that images of all the Classes 1-3 are linked on account of their membership of the Gunanandin- and Cihna-Groups. In the case of the three Images Nos. 243, 268 and 297 a special band has been provided for the inscriptions (No. 243: on the face of the cushion; Nos 268, 297: above the cushion). — Two further inscriptions, containing only Gunanandin's name, appear on the front-walls of the two rooms of Temple No. 21 (in both cases to the right of the entrance; the two entrances face each other).

On account of its *cihna*, Image No. 251 is connected not only with Image No. 243, mentioned already, but also with the four Images Nos. 239-241 and 244 (all six images in Temple No. 21, all except No. 243 in its right room). Images Nos. 239-241 and 244 all belong to the Resting Class and Nos. 239-241 (no photos) form a group within it (§ 184) See Figs. 202-03 for Image No. 244. — *Stylistically*, Image No. 251 forms a group with Nos. 252-255, whereas No 243 forms a pair with No 242 The Images Nos. 239-241 form a group which belongs *in toto* to our chapter (all are members of the Cihna-Group). These remarks on the stylistic links only serve a negative purpose: They show that here as elsewhere epigraphical and stylistic links are not necessarily identical.

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[1] Here and in the case of the Large Group (§§ 242 foll.) the term "group" has been used not for stylistically related images but for related inscriptions and cihnas (as well as for the images on which they appear). — The following objects belong to the Gunanandin- and Cihna-Groups Images Nos. 251 (Gu and Ci), 243 (Gu and Ci), 250 (Gu), the pedestals Nos. 268 (Gu), 297 (Gu); entrances of Temple No. 21, left room (Gu) and right room (Gu). Images Nos 239 (Ci), 240 (Ci), 241 (Ci), 244 (Ci).

[2] This image does *not* belong to the Gunanandin- and Cihna-Groups.

§ 236. The Guṇanandin-inscriptions. IMAGE No. 251 (on the foot-band):

Line 1 siddham śrī-Lokanandi-śisyena viduṣā Guṇanandinā | Candraprabha-Jinendrasya pratimākāri bhaktitaḥ || ṭha ||

"The scholar Guṇanandin, the disciple of Lokanandin, "consecrated" (for the translation of *akāri* cf. § 238) this image of the Jina Candraprabha by reason of his piety". The identity of the Jina (Candraprabha) is also indicated by the crescent-cihna below the footband (§ 237). Among the five images and pedestals of the Gunanandin-Group this is the only specimen which does not show the first Jina Ṛsabha.

IMAGE No. 243 (on the special band on the face of the cushion):

Line 1 śrī-Lokanandinaḥ śisyaḥ śrī-Gunanandi-paṇḍitah | pratimāṃ Purudevasya pratiṣṭhām anayan muniḥ || cha ||

cha denotes a circle bisected horizontally. "Purudeva" occurs in inscriptions and in literature as a synonym of Rsabha. "The scholar and monk Guṇanandin, disciple of Lokanandin, has consecrated this image of Purudeva". The cihna (bull) is carved on the carpet. To the right of the *donor's* inscription a rosette has been incised (§ 237).

Same IMAGE No. 243 (donor's inscription on the foot-band):

Line 1 siddham Varllabha-rājyena ghaṭitam ||

Varllabha is probably a mis-spelling: ligature "*rll*" as it occurs in *durllabha* etc. instead of simple "*ll*". — In order to put some meaning in the compound *Varllabha-rājyena* either the "*y*" or the "*na*" must be disregarded. *Vallabha-rājye* would make good sense (compare *śrī-Ujaravata-rājye* in the samvat 1051 inscription on the inner door-frame of Temple No. 12). It is however difficult to explain the addition of "*na*" after *rājye* and the omission of *śrī* before Vallabha. We are therefore led to assume that the "*jye*" is another instance of a mis-spelt aksara. The sculptor meant to write *Vallabharājena* and in that case *rāja* is part of a name rather than a title. The ligature "*jye*" replaces a previous character which was obviously also mis-spelt.

IMAGE No. 250 (on the foot-band):

Line 1 siddham śrī-Lokanandinah śisyaḥ śrī-Guṇanandi-paṇḍitah |
2 pratimāṃ Purudevasya pratya(s) [ṭh]āpayan muk[t]yai ||

muktyai is an instance of pṛsthamātrā-spelling. — The last pāda differs from the śloka in No. 243. Here, Gunanandin is not referred to as a "monk"; instead it is mentioned that he consecrated the image "as a means of salvation". The cihna (bull) is incised on the throne-blanket (by the donor's inscription). — Only a-c are śloka-pādas.

Same IMAGE No. 250 (donor's inscription on the throne-blanket):

Line 1 Udhu | Lasami | Ca-
2 dinu

Lasami can be derived from *Lakṣmī* ("*s*" instead of "*kṣ*").

IMAGE No. 268 (special band above the cushion):

Line 1 [siddham śrī-Lo]kanandi śiṣya śrī-(G)[unanandi-paṇḍita]h (h)aya Jina-pratimā pratyasthāpayan muktye' ||

On account of the damage sustained and on account of the mistakes in grammar and spelling, the inscription could only be deciphered by comparing it with the parallels. As compared with No. 250, the name of the Jina represented (Ṛṣabha as indicated by the bull-cihna on the throne-blanket) is not mentioned. The akṣaras before *Jina-pratimā* (three are required by the "metre") are doubtful.

IMAGE No. 297 (on the special band above the cushion):

Line 1 siddham śrī-L(o)kanandinaḥ śiṣyaḥ śrī-Guṇanandi-paṇḍitah | pratimām Ādidevasya pratiṣṭhām anayan muniḥ ||

Purudevasya of Image No. 243 has been replaced by its synonym *Ādidevasya*. No cihna.

OUTER WALL (FRONT) OF THE LEFT ROOM OF TEMPLE No. 21:

Line 1 śrī-Guṇa-
2 [na]ndi-paṇitā

The first akṣara (*śrī-*) is larger than the rest and projects downwards between "*pa*" and "*ṇi*". Both here and in the inscription which follows, the title "paṇḍit" is employed (plural in the first case and singular in the second). *paṇitā* may be simply a mis-spelling for paṇḍitā. However the right vertical stroke of the "*ṇi*" is curved, and this may be a simplified rendering of the ligature "*ṇḍi*" as it appears in the next inscription.

OUTER WALL (FRONT-WALL) OF THE RIGHT ROOM OF TEMPLE No. 21:

Line 1 śrī-Guṇanandi-panditāh |

Here the first aksara (*śrī*) is not larger than the rest. The right vertical stroke of the "*ṇ*" in the ligature "*ṇḍi*" terminates in a "*ḍ*" on its lower end.

§ 237. List of the cihnas and of the accompanying inscriptions. IMAGE No. 251: Refer to the previous paragraph for the inscription. The crescent-cihna can be seen in Fig. 211.

IMAGE No. 243: Refer to the previous paragraph for the inscriptions. In the case of this image, the cihna proper is a bull represented on the throne-blanket in relief. But on the foot-band a rosette is incised to the right of the donor's inscription, and this rosette shows the same style and technique as the cihnas of the other images of this paragraph. Theoretically, the rosette could be a lotus-cihna (Jinas Nos. 6 and 21). It would however be difficult to explain the presence of two cihnas on one and the same image. That the bull is the sole correct cihna is established by the inscription which refers to the first Jina Rsabha.

IMAGE No. 239: Horse-cihna (3rd Jina) on the foot-band. To the right of the cihna there appears the inscription *Lālasasya* || .

IMAGE No. 240: Two water-jars (cihna of the 19th Jina) on the foot-band. To the right of the cihna there appears the inscription *Prabhākara Dedā* || . The duplication of the cihna (according to the texts, the cihna of the 19th Jina Malli is a single water-jar) is unusual. Duplication of symbols does however recur in other contexts (VON GLASENAPP, *Jainismus*, Pl. 20, lower left: two fishes; Pl. 20, lower right: two garlands).

IMAGE No. 241: Tortoise-cihna (20th Jina) on the foot-band. To the right of the cihna appears the inscription *Rudu* | *Vaṇā* | *siddham*.

IMAGE No. 244: Elephant-cihna (2nd Jina) on the face of the pedestal which is otherwise plain (Fig. 202A). The animal is rendered in a very spirited manner. No. 244 is the only image of the Cihna-Group which carries no inscription.

§ 238. The five Gunanandin-ślokas differ very little; they differ hardly more than different readings of one and the same verse in a given text A discussion of the "metre" can be dispensed with. The Jina is described as Ṛṣabha or Candraprabha, or he is just referred to as a "Jina". Guṇanandin is called "pandit", "muni", and "vidvān". Four of the five ślokas tell us that Guṇanandin *consecrated* the respective image, only the śloka of Image No. 251 seems to express that Gunanandin *donated* the image (the word used being here *akāri*). Probably this is only due to loose terminology, no difference in meaning being actually intended. We have therefore translated *akāri* in the same manner as *pratyasṭhāpayat* etc. ("he consecrated..."). The possibility that Guṇanandin was in this particular case the donor can however not be ruled out entirely (§ 37). Compare for *kāritā* in the sense of *pratisthāpitā* §§ 243/45, and for *pratiṣṭhāpitā* in the sense of *kāritā* § 244. — *akāri* is to be derived from *kārayati* (and not to be connected with the simplex *karoti*); cf. RENOU, *Grammaire Sanscrite*, § 346. — Lokanandin, Guṇanandin's guru, is always introduced without a title.

§ 239. There is no uniformity in the script of the Guṇanandin-images just as there is none in their style. There is no doubt some very general similarity between the script of the five ślokas and the script of the donor's inscription of Image No. 243, but a real connection exists only between Nos. 251/243 on the one hand and Nos. 268/297 on the other[1]. The two palaeographical "pairs" are however not stylistic pairs at the same time. Let it be said at this stage that the term "palaeographical similarity" refers to the character or "style" of the script, it does not and cannot refer to the shape of individual letters as this may not be uniform even in one and the same inscription. In the case of both Image No. 243 and Image No. 250, the śloka (consecration) and the prose (donation) differ in their palaeographical style. Again the two wall-inscriptions (Temple No. 21) are distinguished from the other inscriptions of the Gunanandin-Group by the big size of their letters. The most *artistic* inscription is found on the *mediocre* Image No. 250. The most archaic forms (or, to be more correct, the greatest percentage of archaic features — as nail-heads, acute angles etc) are found on Image No. 250 (both, śloka and prose) and Image No. 243 (śloka). Compared with these the wall-inscription of the right room of Temple No. 21 looks like unimaginative modern Nāgarī.

§ 240. The position within the Cihna-Group is analogous to that in the Guṇanandin-Group. The images are different in style (No. 251: Hovering Class; Nos. 239, 240, 241, 243, 244: Resting Class), and the inscriptions differ in their palaeography. The three inscriptions Nos. 239-241 (not dealt with in § 239) differ from one another and from the inscriptions Nos. 243 and 251. The inscription of Image No 239 has a modern appearance, whereas Nos 240 and 241 are more archaic. The character of the *cihnas* also differs, although the six symbols clearly belong together from the point of view of technique. The elephant of No. 244 (Fig. 202A) is natural, the other cihnas are stylized.

In the inscriptions of both groups, the first stroke (daṇda) of the double-stroke (double-danda) normally takes the shape of a "*ra*" (BÜHLER, p. 84, lines 29-30). The rendering of this "*ra*" is however not uniform.

§ 241. A comparison of the inscriptions first reveals that images of the first three classes (in particular of the first *two* classes) were set up almost simultaneously. A second conclusion can

[1] The photo of Image No. 297 (Fig 240) gives some idea of the palaeography

be added. The name Gunanandin appears twice on the outer wall of Temple No. 21. It would therefore appear that the structure, the three Gunanandin-images inside it, and the four cihna-images inside it date back to the time of Guṇanandin. This probably also applies to the remaining images in the temple (the total of images in the two rooms is about a dozen).

The Large Group[1]

§ 242. All the five images of goddesses described in Chapter 14 bear inscriptions (dated and undated), and the names mentioned therein partly recur in other inscriptions (again dated and undated). Three of these names are monastic (Tribhuvanakīrti, Vīracandra [his guru], and Silani) and one is laic (Rājyapāla). Inscriptions connected with these "basic" names have been included in the Large Group. These inscriptions contain one or two basic names; or they contain further names which occur in some inscriptions side by side with basic names; or they are in other respects associated with inscriptions mentioning the basic names. Since the inscriptions themselves provide no basis for classification we shall always treat together such inscriptions where the inscribed objects are connected in some way or another: five goddesses (§§ 243-245), a group of Jinas (§ 246), a pair of frieze-slabs (§ 247), a pair of pillars (§ 248), and inscriptions on various objects (§ 249).

§ 243. The three inscriptions on Image No. 302 (for the first inscription refer to Fig. 255) The inscription on the pedestal below the main-figure runs as follows:

Line 1 sādhu-sevyo mahā-sato vimalātmā visuddha-dhī Vi-
2 malakītti-vikhyāta | tasya sisyā mahā-munih
3 ācāyo Virasavāka śrīmān Desi-ga-
4 nāgani | sucaripra sahā-mānyo bha-
5 vyogha-kumuda-priyah tasya siṣo ganobhi-
6 stah (*sic!*) | śrī-Tyabhuvanakīty-ākhyaḥ tenayam
7 kāritā bhaktyā Sarasvatī (ma)la-dānī | śrī -u ṭhak[u]-
8 ra pratimā - sa ti

The corrected text (excluding the prose-appendix) would be as follows:

sādhu-sevyo mahā-sattvo vimalātmā viśuddha-dhīh
Vimalakīrti-vikhyātas tasya śiṣyo mahāmuniḥ (1)
ācāryo Vīraśaśāmkaḥ śrīmān Deśiganāgranīh
sucaritraḥ sabhā-mānyo bhavyaugha-kumuda-priyaḥ (2)
tasya śisyo gaṇe 'bhīṣṭah śrī-Tribhuvanakīrty-ākhyaḥ
teneyaṃ kāritā bhaktyā Sarasvatī phala-dāyinī (3).

For the reconstruction of the text we have utilized the inscriptions of Images Nos. 303 and 306 (*quod vide*). As we know that the name of Tribhuvanakīrti's guru was Vīracandra, we can conclude that the word beginning with Vīra-("*Vira-*") is synonymous with Vīracandra (No. 306 has only "Vī... (ka)ḥ"). The epithet "kumudapriya" in line 5 paraphrases the second element of the name Vīra-candra ("candra" or moon is paraphrased by "kumudapriya" or

[1] Five goddesses (Images Nos. 302-306) and three Jinas (Images Nos 291, 294, 295) are numbered. For the remaining objects within the Large Group see the end of § 242.

"friend of the night-lotuses"). It is therefore possible that the three akṣaras after *Vīra-* also contain a synonym of "candra". 'śaśāṅka' (moon) does of course not fit into the metre but it is not wholly incompatible with the actual characters. The reading Vīracandrākhyaḥ would be metrically correct. The word "agraṇī" occurs repeatedly in paṭṭāvalīs; e.g. compare the passage from AMITAGATI's *Subhāṣitaratnasandoha* (lines 3 and 5) quoted in JOHRAPURKAR as No. 542. For the use of "kārita" instead of "pratiṣṭhāpita" refer to § 238. The form "*ṭhakura*" (with short "*a*" and single "*k*" as in the derivation *ṭhakurāin*) recurs in other Deogarh inscriptions. — The first sentence of the inscription (up to *vikhyātas*) has no predicate. One has to supply *babhūva* or the like. As similar constructions recur in other genealogies it seems however more likely that the "sentence" is just a genitive changed into a nominative to avoid the constant use of the genitive-case (*sādhu-sevyasya... Vimalakīrti-vikhyātasya śiṣyo...*"). — Translation:

"Vimalakīrti was respected by the monks (literally: was to be served by them), was held in high esteem, and was pure in soul and mind. His disciple was the great monk ācārya Vīracandra, the venerable who was foremost in the Deśigana. His conduct was beyond reproach, he was honoured by society, and he was a friend of the night-lotuses in the form of the numerous souls destined for salvation (just as the moon is regarded as the friend of the night-lotuses which blossom forth in its light, similarly Vīracandra was the friend of the souls). His disciple was Tribhuvanakīrti who was respected in the gaṇa. By reason of his piety, Tribhuvanakīrti consecrated this beneficent Sarasvatī."

The prose-appendix contains a further name which probably identifies the donor. —

Inscription on the pedestal of the small ācārya (at hip-level, left):

Line 1 śrī paṃditta
2 Tyabhuvanakī[r]tti

The dental "*d*" of the first line is unexpected. "*tta*" for "*t*" is reminiscent of "*tu*" for "*t*" in the common spelling *saṃvatu* (instead of *samvat*). Just as in the case of the main inscription, the "*Tri-*" at the beginning of the second line has been mis-spelled as "*Tya-*". This inscription mentions the name of the monk under whose figure it appears, just as the next inscription mentions the name of the nun represented on the opposite side (cf. also Śrīdeva and Kamaladeva in § 39).

Inscription on the pedestal of the small nun (opposite the small ācārya):

Line 1 Silaṇī ā[r]yi-
2 (kā) -i - ye

For the name of the nun refer also to § 246. The meaning of "āryikā" (āryā, arjikā) in the Digambara church has been explained by VON GLASENAPP (*Jainismus*, p. 345).

§ 244. INSCRIPTION ON IMAGE No. 303 (Fig. 247):

Line 1 śrīmad-Vīracaṃdra-śiṣyas T(ṛ)bhuvanakīrttir iti || satya-nāmaṃ kṛtam idaṃ yatah dharmmya-kāryodyataṃ ||
2 śrī-Mathura-pātānvaya-nabhasi pūrnna-mrgāka-cavi śrī- - - - tatpa śuta (th)aku-
3 ra Śīrakas tasya ca bhāyā śilāmbhah-pravāha-vāhinī Jina-muni-pāda-paṃkaya-bhṛṃ-
4 ginī (*sic!*) prati-vratatvena mohitākhila-vibudha-jana-manasā Mohinī nāmā || ta-
5 yā pratiṣṭhāpitā vāṃcita-phala-pradāyinī Padmīyatī devī || likhita(m |)
6 Gopāla-paṃditaneti || sam(v)atta 1126

Corrected text:

śrīmad-Vīracaṃdra-śiṣyas Tribhuvanakīrtir iti
satyaṃ nāma kṛtam idaṃ yataḥ dharmya-kāryodyataḥ.
śrī-Mathura-pāṭānvaya-nabhasi pūrṇa-mṛgāṃka-chaviḥ śrī- - - -, tasya sutaḥ ṭhakuraḥ Śīrakas, tasya ca bhāryā śīlāmbhaḥ-pravāha-vāhinī, Jina-muni-pāda-paṃkaja-bhṛṃginī, pati-vratatvena mohitākhila-vibudha-jana-manasā Mohinī nāma. Tayā pratiṣṭhāpitā vāṃchita-phala-pradāyinī Padmīyatī devī. Likhitaṃ Gopāla-paṃḍiteneti. saṃvat 1126.

The shape of many akṣaras is irregular. "*śa*" can hardly be distinguished from "*sa*", "*kṛ*" in line 1 looks like "*na*", and "*bhṛ*" at the end of line 3 could be read as "*ta*". In two cases (lines 2 and 5) "*cha*" has been mis-spelt as "*ca*". Padmīyatī stands for Padmāvatī, compare Ambāyikā (§ 84 no. 8) and Ambākikā (the name occurs below the representation of the goddess on one face of the medieval pillar-fragment mentioned in § 39) instead of Ambikā. Translation:

"Vīracandra's disciple was Tribhuvanakīrti. This name was bestowed as a fitting one because he was dedicated to pious works. N.N. was the splendour of the full moon in the sky of the Mathura-pāṭānvaya (§ 252). His son was the ṭhākur Śīraka. Śīraka had a wife called Mohinī. She was a river formed by the stream of the waters of virtue. She was a bee on the foot-lotuses of the monks of the Jina (*bhṛngiṇī* instead of *bhṛngī*, perhaps under the influence of *vāhinī*). She was called "Mohinī" because she had brought into confusion the minds of all intelligent people by virtue of her loyalty to her husband ("mohinī" normally means "enchantress"). This lady donated (for this translation of *pratiṣṭhāpitā* refer to § 238) the goddess Padmāvatī who bestows the desired success. Written by Paṇḍit Gopāla in saṃvat 1126."

The connection between N.N. and Tribhuvanakīrti cannot be firmly established. The conclusion seems inevitable that N.N. was a monk who had a family before he renounced the world. It is however also possible that between the three indistinct aksaras in line 2 and the word *tasya* a portion of the text containing a further name or further names was omitted by the scribe The second half of line 1 seems to be metrical.

§ 245. Inscription on Image No. 304 (Fig. 248):

Line 1 Soḍhe ||

Inscription on Image No. 305 (Fig. 250):

Line 1 Rājyapāla-patnī Sāvitrī ||

Inscription on Image No. 306 (Fig. 255A, 256):

Line 1 sādhu-sevyo mahā-sato vimalātmā viśuddha-dhīḥ | Vi
2 vikhyātas tasya siṣyo mahāmuniḥ || ācāryo Vī
3 (ka)h | śrīmā[n] Desi-gaṇāgran(ī) | sucaritrah sa
4 bhavyaugha-kumuda-priyah | tasya siṣyo ga
5 Tribhuvanakīrtty-ākhyaḥ teneya kāri
6 - J(ā)li[n]ī [pha]la-(dā)yi -

The damage sustained by the pedestal has already been mentioned in § 217. Apart from the first word of the last line the whole of the present text is also contained in the inscription of No. 302. The word in question gives the name of the goddess represented: Jvālinī (or Mālinī), and not Sarasvatī. The spelling of the present inscription is better than that of its

parallel, but the rendering of the characters is poorer. In this connection it must be remembered that the Jvālinī-image is not only different in style but also of poorer quality than the Sarasvatī-image. According to Sahni (*List III*, no. 102) the inscription was dated ("samvat 11xx"). Since however Sahni himself says that the inscription had not more than six lines it must be assumed that the date appeared at the end of the last line and that the image sustained *further* damage after Sahni's visit (in his days the pedestal was damaged already).

§ 246. The inscriptions on images of the Group in Temple No. 20.
INSCRIPTION ON IMAGE NO. 291 (Fig. 237):

Line 1 saṃvat 1135 arjikā Lavanaśrī

INSCRIPTION ON IMAGE NO. 294:

Line 1 śrī-Vīraca(ṃ)drā acārya | tasya siṣā śrī-Tyabhuvanakīrtti

INSCRIPTION ON IMAGE NO. 295:

Line 1 siddham nama saṃvatu 1136 srā Jasodhara-suta
2 Silaṃi āryakā a - Jasamai si
3 ......

srā is a mis-spelling for *śrī* or an abbreviation for *śrāvaka*. — For the group as such refer to § 211.

§ 247. INSCRIPTIONS ON TWO FRIEZE-SLABS On account of their motifs, of their style, and of their inscriptions (contents and general character) two frieze-slabs of Temple No 1 are closely related to each other. Both slabs show a seated ācārya (to the left) and three standing Jinas (to the right). In both cases the inscriptions appear below the ācārya. In the case of the *first* slab (Fig. 210; outer face of the wall) two inscriptions appear on the foot-band of the pedestal (left-hand lateral zone and central zone). As the foot-band of the right-hand lateral zone has been cut away it is not possible to ascertain whether it originally carried an inscription. Text of the inscription to the left:

Line 1 śrī-Mā(gh)avacadra |

In the case of the inscription in the centre, the shape of many aksaras is incorrect. The following text is corrected as far as the intended meaning could be made out.

Line 1 siddham śrī-Tribhuvanakīrtty-ācāryena pamditena ||| Vīracaṃdra-guru-bhaktyā | va (sa) ji te staṃ pratiṣṭhā |

The two last words are abbreviations and we have to read *stambhah pratiṣṭhāpitah* (compare Vīracandra's pillar-inscription in § 248). The aksara *"te"* before *staṃ* suggests a locative ending; in that case the four akṣaras before *staṃ* might form a place-name. Translation: "The ācārya Tribhuvanakīrti consecrated this pillar because of his devotion towards his guru Vīracandra." It is unlikely that the word "stambha" should refer to another object than the one on which the inscription appears. Again "stambha" never occurs in the sense of "slab" or "image". We are therefore led to assume that the text was copied wholly or in part from a

pillar-inscription. The example of Images Nos. 302 and 306 clearly shows that the text of inscriptions was often used more than once.

The foot-band of the *second* slab is completely intact. Here the inscription occupies the whole foot-band (to the left in one line, centre and right in two lines). The horizontal bands decorating the pilasters of the present slab are of more delicate workmanship than those on the pilasters of the first slab. This is a somewhat more classical formula for the pillar-decoration than the crude modern formula of the first slab. Apart from this both slabs show the same style. It is therefore obvious that both band-formulas occur *side by side* in one and the same phase of the stylistic development. — At least up to 1957 the second slab was not fixed on the structure. — The left-hand inscription runs as follows:

Line 1 śrī-Visālakīrtti vaṃ di pr

The last three akṣaras cannot be read. — Inscription in the centre:

Line 1 śrīmatā Vīracamdrena | hradya-samtoṣa-kārinā | kītti-kaumudī-paure-
2 ṇa | dyotita bhūpana-trayaṃ | Tṛbhuvanakīttinā (bhak)tyā - -

"By virtue of the streaming moon-light of his fame *(paurena* for *pūrena*: flood) which gladdens the heart, the venerable Vīracandra has illuminated the three worlds. On account of his piety, Tribhuvanakīrti..." — The two damaged aksaras at the end of the last line were probably abbreviations like those found in the left-hand inscription. — Inscription to the right:

Line 1 śrī-Jasakīrtti-bha(ṭṭ)ārake
2 ma - (guna)-rāsi sīrla - - ra ||

Read *śīla* instead of *śīrla* in line 2. Only name and title of Yaśahkīrti are intelligible.

§ 248 THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE TWO PILLARS IN FRONT OF TEMPLE No. 18. Two pillars of almost exactly the same design stand in front of Temple No. 18. They form a torana as it were, only the lintel being missing. Each pillar carries one inscription (on the socle). Left-hand pillar (Fig. 267):

Line 1 Mūla-saṃghe Yaśahkīrtty-ācāryena gau - - -
2 tau Rājyapāla-mathasyāgre māna-stambhau prakalpi-
3 tau samvat 1121

This is a śloka, but the last three aksaras of the second pāda are illegible (*gauravānvitau?*). "Yaśahkīrti of the Mūlasangha consecrated these two mānastambhas before the maṭh of Rājyapāla. samvat 1121 " We take *prakalpita* as a synonym of *pratiṣthāpita* and not of *kārita*, as the person concerned is a monk (§ 238). Up to this day the Jains use the word "mānastambha" for their numerous votive pillars. — Right-hand pillar:

Line 1 śrīmad-Vimalakīrtty-ākhya-guror bhaktyā -ā
2 yaṃ śrī-Vīracaṃdra-muninā māna-staṃbhaḥ pra-
3 kalpitah || samvat 1121

Perhaps the second pāda of this śloka ended in "muner ayaṃ". — "Out of devotion for his guru Vimalakīrti, the monk Vīracandra consecrated (see the previous inscription) this mānastambha."

§ 249. Inscriptions on isolated objects. The FRAGMENT OF AN ĀCĀRYA-IMAGE of the frieze-slab type (lying to the south of Temple No. 1 on the ground) shows part of an inscription. This does not appear on the foot-band but on the narrow band running along the *top* of the pedestal (see for this feature Fig. 210). The akṣaras are therefore smaller than those appearing on the *foot-bands* of frieze-slabs (height of the akṣaras without vowels in the present inscription 7-8 mm). The fragment formed the extreme right portion of the slab. The inscription consists of the two words *śiṣya Vīracadra*. — A STANDING JINA of the High-Relief Style in Temple No. 4 (rear-wall) carries an inscription which also merely gives the name Vīracandra (*śrī-Vīracadra*). — A SMALL SEATED JINA of the High-Relief Style in Temple No. 9 (no longer to be traced during my visit in 1957) carries the following inscription:

Line 1 saṃvat 1129 Māghavacadreṇa

Above the figure "2" the stone is damaged, and this probably explains why Sahni (*List III* no. 50) read "3" instead of "2". — A HEADLESS STANDING JINA fixed in Wall-Section II has the following inscription:

Line 1 maṭha-patih / Rajjapāla-suta Ratana praṇamati

The text suggests that the "maṭhapati" referred to is Ratana. But we can also conjecture that the construction is loose and that here as elsewhere the title belongs to Rājyapāla. — A STANDING JINA of the High-Relief Style (also without head) lies behind Temple No. 12 near the Rampart. Its inscription runs as follows:

Line 1 [ma](tha)pati Rajapālah praṇamati

§ 250. In the inscriptions Nos. 302/306 the sequence Vimalakīrti-Vīracandra-Tribhuvanakīrti is given in full. In the other cases at the most two of the three names are mentioned In two cases members of the sequence are mentioned along with a date[1]: No. 303 (samvat 1126) and right-hand pillar in front of No. 18 (samvat 1121). But only the second inscription tells us that the person in question (Vīracandra) lived in the year mentioned. Vimalakīrti is mentioned without title; Vīracandra is called "ācārya" and "(mahā)muni"; Tribhuvanakīrti is called "ācārya" and "paṇḍita". In the case of those inscriptions of § 249 which mention only the name Vīracandra, one may ask whether this Vīracandra is identical with the Vīracandra of the sequence. One may also ask whether undated images of the Large Group can be dated with the help of dated names occurring therein, as long as it is not clearly stated that the person in question was involved in the consecration. We mentioned already the case of the pillar-capital which carried an inscriptions with the names of two monks who were no longer alive (§ 39). It would nevertheless appear for a number of reasons that the inscriptions of the Large Group form a coherent whole so that the objects carrying them can be safely dated to one and the same period. — Vīracandra (and by implication the two other members of the sequence) belonged to the Deśigana. It seems that the three names are not mentioned in inscriptions outside Deogarh. Nor do they occur in literature. The same is of course true of all the other monks who were (according to the Deogarh inscriptions) directly connected with the place. The present author at least has not been able to discover the names of Deogarh monks in other sources.

[1] The Large Group has six dates in all.

It nowhere follows from the inscriptions that Vimalakirti himself was responsible for any of the objects referred to. He may or may not have played a part in the religious activities at Deogarh. The consecration of the right-hand pillar in front of No. 18 is attributed to Vīracandra (*...prakalpitah*). This statement is in conflict with the inscription on the other pillar which attributes the consecration of *both* pillars to Yaśaḥkīrti (*... prakalpitau*). It is nevertheless certain that the pillars were set up in samvat 1121 and that Vīracandra had something to do with it. Tribhuvanakīrti consecrated four images (302, 306, and the two frieze-slabs of § 247). — Refer for Tribhuvanakīrti also to the next paragraph.

§ 251. As far as the epigraphic evidence goes the remaining monastic names are of little importance. Yaśahkīrti has already been mentioned in the last paragraph. He is in all probability identical with "Jasakīrti" in the last inscription of § 247 (frieze-slab), for it is unlikely that two monks with almost identical names flourished at Deogarh simultaneously. Jasakīrti is given the title "bhattāraka", and this is probably the first reference to the bhaṭṭāraka-institution at Deogarh (beginning of the 12th samvat century).

Māghavacandra is mentioned twice (§§ 247 and 249), but on both occasions without title. The first inscription merely mentions his name. The second inscription records that he caused the relevant image to be set up in samvat 1129. Viśālakīrti is mentioned but once (§ 247). In the relevant inscription only his name is legible. The two nuns Lavanaśrī and Silani are mentioned on Images Nos. 291 (samvat 1135) and 295 (samvat 1136) respectively. Besides, Silani is represented on the Sarasvatī-image No. 302: a miniature-nun with the name "Silanī" (*sic!*) incised below it. Tribhuvanakīrti is represented on the opposite side (also with name), and this would suggest some connection between the two. In any case, Silani must have been a nun of some importance

Three inscriptions mention the "mathapati" Rājyapāla (§ 248 and 249). Temple No. 18 is called his "matha" (§ 248), and we learn also the names of his wife and son (Sāvitrī = § 245, Ratana = § 249). There can be little doubt that Rājyapāla, Sāvitrī, and Ratana are mentioned on images always in their capacity of donors. The date of the family follows from the inscription on Image No. 305 (Cakreśvarī) which must be contemporary with the Images Nos. 302-04 and 306 (No. 303 = samvat 1126). Other Deogarh inscriptions mention maṭhapatis different from Rājyapāla.

§ 252. As compared with the later inscriptions, the inscriptions mentioned in this chapter do not contain much information. The incomplete description of the "position" of the monks (and sequences of monks) within the hierarchy of monastic groups and sub-groups is a case in point[1]. In one case, the Mūlasangha (= Digambara Church) is mentioned, and this without further group-designations (§ 248). Other inscriptions mention a single sub-group (Nos. 302/306: Deśigana; No. 303. Mathurapātānvaya). It seems that pātānvaya is one of the rarer group-designations. It recurs however in another Deogarh inscriptions (*List III* no. 55). The Deśigana (always spelt in this way) is mentioned in numerous texts and inscriptions. — The study of the hierarchy of monastic groups is not only a historical but also a terminological problem.

[1] In later Deogarh inscriptions preceptorial lines start with one to four "group"-designations, each forming a sub-group of the preceding one. E g. "Mūlasanghe, Sarasvatīgacche, Balātkāragane, Kundakundānvaye..."

The titles "maṭhapati" and "bhaṭṭāraka" require some explanation. The "maṭhapatis" were persons in charge of a religious establishment. Their status (monk/householder) was not quite clear however. They were either monks, not following all the rules of their order, *or* householders with semi-monastic status. The institution of the maṭhapatis cannot be separated completely from the conventions and functions of the "caityavāsins". The caityavāsins were originally monks who had taken their abode in a temple. Later on they became the administrators of the temples (and were finally regarded as the owners of the temples). It does not appear that either institution (maṭhapatis, caityavāsins) is of any importance today. – The "bhaṭṭārakas" who belong exclusively to the Digambara community share certain features with the two categories just discussed. They were high ecclesiastical dignitaries having jurisdiction over a well-defined region. They were always monks but enjoyed a princely status (as did some of the "śankarācāryas" in Hinduism). Even now the bhaṭṭārakas play at many places an important part in the religious life of the Digambara community. However, the wordly aspect of the institution is disappearing. [Information supplied by Dr. C. B. Tripathi.] Refer also to JOHRAPURKAR.

§ 253. Unfortunately we have no photos of the last four images of § 249. It is moreover difficult to establish the exact stylistic relationship of the objects inscribed, as these vary considerably in character (images of various descriptions and pillars) Even then a study of the style alone will assign to the objects covered by the term "Large Group" a later date than to the objects of the two preceding groups. Besides we can place all the pieces of the Large Group with the help of the six dated inscriptions (ranging in date from samvat 1121 to 1136) As in the case of the Gunanandin- and Cihna-Groups, the degree of stylistic diversity is nevertheless considerable. A general estimate is difficult for the reasons mentioned But the fact that images as different as Nos. 302 and 306 carry identical inscriptions is a blatant example of stylistic differences amongst epigraphically related images — notwithstanding the fact that the poorer image (No. 306) also has the poorer characters.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

HISTORY OF THE JINA-IMAGES

§ 254. In title and contents the present chapter corresponds to the fifth (History of the Jain Temples). There is however a difference in so far that the fifth chapter was an ersatz for a more detailed treatment of the subject, whereas the present chapter is largely a summary of the preceding chapters of Part II. The early-medieval styles will be dealt with first, the medieval style following that, and in conclusion the iconography. The theoretical problems touched upon will be re-examined in a wider context in the 20th chapter (Types).

THE EARLY-MEDIEVAL STYLES

§ 255. As we have already seen in § 26, traces of the post-Gupta period ("period I" of § 26) are limited to a few pieces, both in the field of architecture and sculpture. We can therefore confine our attention to the building periods II and III which together form the early-medieval phase of the temple architecture. Similarly we can distinguish two periods in the field of early-medieval sculpture. These periods do not coincide however with the building periods II and III. We can include in the *second* period of early-medieval sculpture all those images which were definitely or tentatively styled "late". Some of these late images form units of their own (Peaked-Jatā Group: § 121; Section of the Late Images . : §§ 160-63), while others represent the rearguard of the various classes (§§ 103, 120 end etc). The *first* period is made up of all the other images. This first period corresponds to building periods II and III (i.e. period III minus Temple No. 18) The second period corresponds to the end of the building-period III, represented by Temple No. 18 This relatively accurate coordination is hypothetical no doubt but not quite unwarranted: Temple No 18 is on the one hand distinguished by the most conspicuous concentration of *late* early-medieval images (Drum-Leaf Style) and it is on the other hand architecturally midway between the early-medieval period (more precisely building period III) and the medieval period (period IV). See § 28. — Here and in the following paragraph the co-ordination of the temples and the images is a matter basically of both time and location. If we observe that the early-medieval images (except the late) correspond to the building periods II and III, then we want to indicate that they hail from the same time as the period II and III temples, and that they are mostly found in them. Points of contact in *style* are limited to a few decorative patterns appearing both in images and on temples (palmyra-capital: Figs. 318/22, 319/23). — As will be shown later on, the *late* phase of the early-medieval styles does not link these styles with the medieval style. Certain fore-runners of the medieval style are found here and there in the early-medieval period, but this is equally true of its early phase and of its late phase.

Generally speaking, the absolute date of the early-medieval styles is fixed by inscriptions occurring on *buildings*. Inscriptions on images are almost completely missing in this period (the two bronze Jinas from Vasantagarh [dated samvat 744] are amongst the few exceptions; see *Lalit Kalā* 1/2, pp. 55 foll.). We have therefore to rely in the case of Deogarh on the dated pillar-inscription in which Temple No. 12 is mentioned (Figs. 5 and 46) and on the Catur-

bhuja-temple at Gwalior which is also dated (Fig. 382). As stated on p. 36 (cf. also p. 46), Temple No. 12 is earlier than the portico pillar (dated samvat 919) and the Caturbhuja-temple (samvat 932), but it cannot be much earlier. "About samvat 900" would therefore be a reasonable dating, both for Temple No 12 and for the Images Nos 1-5 (Large Śānti and four Early Ambikās). Temple No. 15 has on the pillars supporting the roof of its main-room a more advanced type of the palmyra-capital as compared with Temple No 12 where the motif occurs very frequently (see Figs. 319/18). Similarly the main idols of Temples Nos. 12 (Image No. 1) and 15 (Image No. 13) show the earlier and the later formula respectively (see Figs. 322/23). If this stylistic progress implies a difference in time, then we can conclude that Temple No. 15 is about a quarter of a century later than Temple No. 12. Needless to say that we use the palmyra criterion only because we can follow the *evolution* of this motif and because it seems that in the case of ornamental motifs the earlier form disappeared as soon as the new form came into vogue. (Generally speaking we know very well that "earlier" and "later" pieces were produced simultaneously.) — Compared with the differences between the entire main idols, the difference between the palmyra-formulas (Figs. 322 and 323) is minimal An inadvertent observer is likely to over-estimate the chronological gap, as he may attribute the difference between the two compositions to a difference in the period and not to stylistic pluralism. — Besides No. 13, the Images Nos. 171-78 (in the large niches) are as old as Temple No. 15 itself (see § 35). In other words, we have four "dated" units, viz. No. 1 — Nos. 2-5 — No. 13 — Nos. 171-178. As all the early-medieval images are directly or indirectly connected with these "dated" units, we can conclude that the whole early-medieval material is not much earlier and not much later than samvat 900-925. The *late* images of the early-medieval styles would of course approach the earliest medieval specimens (e.g. No. 227, dated samvat 1023) from the point of view of time. — Refer also to § 97 (Drum-Style and Drum-Leaf Style)

THE MEDIEVAL STYLE AND ITS RELATION TO THE EARLY-MEDIEVAL STYLES

§ 256. An appreciable number of medieval images and temples are dated. Apart from a few insignificant specimens, all the dated images have been shown in our photos. The same is true of dated architecture, but here only partial views have been given (section of the door-frame etc.). § 23 shows how many Deogarh images are dated, and § 334 lists those Figs. which show dated objects. — Another new feature is the fact that the medieval material resolves itself clearly into four different "phases" (§ 175). The expression "phase" requires a twofold qualification, however. Firstly the phases do not simply follow one another but overlap to some extent (§§ 241 and 253). A genuine succession would however presumably become apparent if a comparison could be made of the average dates of the various phases. The argument could be employed that the richer phase II (= Hovering Class) hails from the same time as the simpler phase I (= Resting Class). For the characteristics of phase II are already apparent on the inner door-frame of Temple No. 12 which is contemporary with the Resting Class (samvat 1051, see Fig. 196) But as long as we do not possess a phase II image with an early date we have to assume that the actual Jina-images were still comparatively simple round about samvat 1050 (and that the phase II images are accordingly later) Unfortunately not a single phase II image is dated whereas we possess four dated phase I images.

§ 257. The expression "phase" requires yet a second qualification. In the history of sculptural art, just as in the case of the history of building techniques (and also in the case of the history of language), the later form is not necessarily derived from the form which it replaces. The later form may be borrowed from elsewhere and it is also possible that a rarely used element suddenly achieves some prominence. This is true of the mutual relationship of the four "phases" (and it also applies to the general relationship of the early-medieval styles and the medieval style). It is for both reasons (overlapping in time and lack of continuity) that we have preferred the term "class" to the term "phase" when describing the images of the High-Relief Style. The question of the transition from the early-medieval styles to the medieval style remains unsolved. Some images are midway between both periods (see §§ 113, 174). — While describing the difference between the early-medieval styles and the medieval style we cannot overlook the fact that both in the early-medieval period and in the medieval period archaic and baroque classes exist side by side. Images Nos. 1 (early-medieval) and 311 (medieval) are archaic while Images Nos. 13 (early-medieval) and 251 (medieval) are baroque. We can however define the difference by saying in a more abstract manner that the medieval style is more rigid in so far as more emphasis is placed on vertical and horizontal lines. This is very conspicuous in the case of the arms of the seated Jinas. Straight front views (i e. photos not taken from above) show the following difference: In the medieval period the upper arms are vertical and the lower arms horizontal, whereas the preferred form in the early-medieval period was arms akimbo. — There is also a difference in so far as the medieval period has produced certain extremes. For instance the geometrical rendering of the main-figure reached an unprecedented degree (in the Geometrical Class and in images of a still later date). Besides we have in the medieval period the one extreme of an exceedingly rich parikara (elements arranged on various planes) and the other extreme of a simplified parikara scarcely worth its name In the early-medieval period the margin allowed for extreme developments was narrower.

It could be surmised that the severe pattern of the śikhara-architecture observed in the type of the Nīlakantheśvara-temple at Udaipur supplies a parallel to the above-mentioned rigidity of medieval sculpture. But the Nīlakantheśvara-type of śikhara did not emerge until a comparatively late date (§ 7) and it is limited to a specific area (no uncontaminated specimen further north than Udaipur). And earlier medieval śikharas show an irregular excrescence of miniature-śikharas which is in direct contradiction to the spirit of the Nīlakantheśvara-type.

§ 258. In the previous paragraph we have treated discontinuity (in contrast to continuous stylistic development) as if it were a completely normal phenomenon: The medieval style at Deogarh is a style in its own right which cannot be traced back to the two early-medieval styles preceding it at Deogarh. This is in keeping with the general relationship between the early-medieval and the medieval period in Central India. Here too a simple derivation is not possible although a systematic search for transitional forms may modify this estimate to some extent. The general situation can be explained by a sudden assertion of a new artistic sentiment combined with a loss of the old conventions. This approach however does not explain one particular fact which is more specific than discontinuity. We are referring to the phenomenon of striking similarities which connect objects far removed in space and time, *and* of striking differences separating objects close in space and time. This phenomenon (or rather its second facet) may also be called discontinuity, but it is better to reserve for it the term "discrepancy" ("parallels" in the case of the opposite facet). In other words, we are using the

term "discontinuity" only in those cases where striking differences are observed between the local style of one period and the style of the *next* period. — For examples refer to §§ 259-60 and 283-84.

§ 259. The earliest Deogarh images have a very simple throne-top. Some of these images precede the early-medieval styles chronologically (or at least in their typological stage), while some can be attributed to these styles. Other early-medieval images however have a fully developed throne-top (Image No. 13). Whereas the images differ in this respect, they agree in that (apart from two exceptions) the throne-legs are always missing. In the medieval period the situation suddenly changes: Now *all* seated images have throne-legs and a fully developed throne-top. In addition to this, the standing Jinas are *also* provided with a throne; but in this case the throne-legs are missing as before (the images mentioned in § 183 are no true exceptions to the last rule). After "discrepancy" and "discontinuity" examples of "parallels": A glance at the Akota bronzes shows that already in the seventh century seated Jina images with a fully developed throne-top and fully fledged throne-legs were being produced in Western India (SHAH, *Akota*, Pl. 22). Let it be said that the Western Indian throne is not just *any* parallel, but a comparatively close parallel to the Deogarh thrones. This being the case it could perhaps be said that Central India 'borrowed' this type in the Middle Ages from outside, but such a simple explanation would not do justice to the specific phenomenon. On the one hand a relatively highly developed throne (no doubt without throne-legs) was not uncommon at Deogarh in the early-medieval period. On the other hand, the substitution of the medieval formula for the early-medieval formula came overnight. Under such circumstances it would appear that we have to arrange the material in fairly well-defined classes each of which represents *a certain selection from the formulas available at the time* Along with this we have to assume that the repertoire of available formulas was the same in a fairly large area and for a fairly long time. This type of approach provides a satisfactory explanation of the fact that identical or similar formulas may appear in different regions at different times, while stylistic units found in the same period and at the same locality employ widely differing formulas. It follows from what has been said that "discrepancy and parallels" as well as "class" are closely connected if not concomitant. Different classes are to a large extent different corpuses of formulas and the "architects" of these classes selected the formulas according to their taste. As a consequence distance in time and space did not imply 100% dissimilarity between two given classes (result: parallels), and proximity in time and space did not exclude considerable dissimilarity between two given classes (result: discrepancy).

§ 260. Three other motifs (parasol-stick, double-leaf and lateral strands) can be dealt with more briefly. The parasol-stick is found in two classes of the Drum-Style, invariably in the Uncouth Class and occasionally in the Slender Class. In the remaining classes it is practically absent. In the medieval style it is missing originally, but some images of the Classes 3 and 4 show a tree-trunk (flanked by two leaves) in the shape of the old parasol-stick (Fig. 258).

Early-medieval images may or may not show the double-leaf. Although the division of the early-medieval material in two styles (one with and one without double-leaf) poses certain problems (§ 97), the fact remains that classes with and without double-leaf exist side by side. In the medieval style the double-leaf is not compulsory, but it appears in all classes Its rendering follows more or less closely the early-medieval form. In the last two classes this tradition is discontinued and we suddenly discover the double-leaf *below* the parasol and con-

nected with the tree-trunk (Fig. 258). In one case both formulas are found in one and the same image (Image No. 316[1]). There is only one instance at Deogarh where the double-leaf formula cannot be derived from the palmyra-motif (Fig. 243: New Class of the medieval style). In contrast to this, the double-leaf formula of Images Nos. 283-84 (§ 210) can be derived from the palmyra-motif in spite of its unconventional form.

In the early-medieval styles lateral strands are only found in connection with "strands" (unplaited strands, jatā, smooth jaṭā). In the medieval style they are suddenly found in connection with curls. This connection is by no means new but can be traced back to the post-Gupta period (Ṛsabha from Akota: SHAH, *Akota*, Pl. 8 a/b). Like all elements of the anatomy the lateral strands are remarkably uniform in the medieval style. As in the case of the double-leaf a second formula (deviating from the medieval standard formula) was introduced at a comparatively late stage; and as in the case of the double-leaf both formulas could be juxtaposed. An example of this is Fig. 261: The strands in front represent the standard formula, the rear strands represent the new formula (see § 227 on Image No. 310). The new strand formula is found but sporadically.

THE ICONOGRAPHY

§ 261. Here we are concerned with iconography in its narrowest sense (§§ 293 and 298A). We shall first deal with Jina-iconography in general (261-62) and afterwards with attributes of individual Jinas (§§ 263-65).

Differences in the iconography reveal themselves on various planes. Firstly we have to take into consideration the fact that different classes have a different iconography. This point requires no further comment. Secondly the iconography of a seated Jina is not exactly the same as that of a standing Jina, and the iconography of a Jina represented as main-figure differs from that of a Jina represented as a subsidiary figure. Differences between standing and seated Jinas concern the throne (§ 259) and the lotus (pedestal-lotus *or* feet-lotus for standing Jinas, cushion-lotus *or* seat-lotus for seated Jinas). Again miniature-Jinas may be shown both in the early-medieval period and in the medieval period seated or standing on realistically rendered lotuses (Fig. 376 and the two door-jamb fragments mentioned on p. 43). Similarly miniature-Jinas in tritīrthikās may be shown standing on a cushion in the medieval period (Fig 374 and lower tritīrthikā on the lintel of the inner door-frame of Temple No. 12). In contrast the main-Jinas of Deogarh are not associated with realistically rendered lotuses or cushions (Image No. 232 [with feet-lotus] is an exception). The two lateral Jinas (= main-Jinas in their widest sense) of an independent tritīrthikā at Siron Khurd also stand on cushions but that example is not from Deogarh. In the early-medieval period at Deogarh there are instances where the miniature-Jinas are provided with a double-leaf whereas the main-Jina has no double-leaf at all (Fig. 89) or else the formula of *his* double-leaf is unconventional (Fig. 88). Ultimately we have to mention that the convention of the medieval period encourages the use of the lotus-node (Fig. 375) and of strands (smooth jaṭā, Fig. 231) for the representation of miniature-Jinas. At Deogarh at least these two attributes are nowhere associated with main-Jinas belonging to the medieval period.

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[1] Juxtaposition of two formulas of the same motif See also the following paragraph on lateral strands. Further instances are supplied by the images with twofold parikara-tops (Figs. 8, 44, and 147A)

§ 262. Last but not least we have to take into consideration the difference between art and literature. At first sight such differences seem to be minimal. Partly because many features of the actual representations were sanctioned subsequently by the authorities and partly because we are inclined to speak of a difference only in those cases where a representation is *incompatible* with the texts. In reality the very fact that the Jina is only shown in two postures (one standing, one seated) demonstrates the autonomy of iconoplastic art. There is absolutely nothing in the Jina-legend that would explain this restriction. In the present context we cannot discuss any details. It will suffice to mention the various layers in the Jina-iconography and to indicate their relation to Jain tradition.

The motif of the naked human body was certainly not invented by the Jain artists but it was selected with regard for the fact that Mahāvīra (as well as a certain section of the monks) went about without clothing. The remaining elements can mostly be derived from the following sources[1].

(1) Court ceremonies (throne, cāmara-bearers, parasol, drummer).
(2) Nāgism (Pārśva's snake).
(3) Tree-worship (double-leaf).
(4) Lotus-worship (seat-lotus etc., lotus-node, hand-lotus)
(5) Symbol-worship[2] (dharmacakra).
(6) Śaivism (Rsabha's jaṭā and his bull).

These layers belong to what is often called the "common heritage" of all communities. But layers 2-6 must have represented to some extent *different* traditions The elements mentioned are in any case alien to the oldest traditions of Jainism. The same is true of the curls (including the uṣṇīṣa) and of the śrīvatsa-mark The expression "alien to the oldest tradition" does *not* exclude fairly early literary references of one kind or the other. The obvious fact that an iconographic feature is "alien" to i e. *not in keeping with* the original spirit of a community does not automatically imply that this feature has no basis in the texts of the community. The following process can be envisaged. A certain legend, belonging to the "common heritage", was based on a particular iconographic feature (thus the legend of the "protection by a nāga" was based on the concept of a big hood or hood-circle). This legend was borrowed by a particular community at the same time as the iconographic feature or even prior to it. Thereby the impression was created that the iconographic feature was "based" on the legend as recorded in the texts of the borrowing community.

§ 263. Both on account of the main-figure and on account of the parikara the Jina-type is remarkably clearly distinguished from other types. The number of attributes distinguishing one Jina from the other is however limited. If we leave aside for the moment the fully developed system of individual attributes, as described in later iconographic texts, we can draw the following picture The early-medieval period preferred broadly speaking what can be called a "three-type iconography" of the Jina. The artists represented Ṛsabha, Pārśva, and the normal Jina in *approximately* equal number (§ 139). It would however be more precise to say that

[1] These sources are "systems" in the sense of Chapter 21. — We do not refer to Nāgism etc in general but to the various constituents of the non-literary religion prevalent in the millennium between 500 B.C and 500 A D We are therefore dealing with systems of a relatively low order.

[2] Symbol = inanimate motif, for other definitions refer to §§ 297 (footnote) and 319.

different units tended to handle the problem in different ways. The Uncouth Class was originally interested in Rsabha and in the normal type: amongst the eighteen images which are more than life-size only one is provided with a hood-circle (No. 26). The Throne-Frame Class on the other hand was interested neither in Pārśva nor in Ṛṣabha (no image with hood-circle and only one strand-image: No. 159); but this class made occasional use of the cihna (three instances). The miniature-Jinas above the goddesses on the outer walls of Temple No. 12 are represented partly with curls and partly with jaṭā (smooth jaṭā), but never with a hood-circle. There can therefore be little doubt that the relative frequency of the various types depended primarily on artistic convention and not on differences in the degree of popularity. A striking example is the treatment of the 24th Jina Mahāvīra. As he was the actual founder of Jainism he must have had some significance in religious life and thought. But neither has he been provided with a special attribute (as was the case with Ṛṣabha and Pārśva) nor is his cihna (the lion) met with frequently. Even in classes where cihnas are represented fairly often, instances of the lion-cihna are rare.

§ 264. Yaksa/yaksī and cihna are attributes (or rather attribute-types) which are common to all the 24 Jinas. It must however be mentioned that at Deogarh at least Pārśva is always shown without cihna (a single exception is found amongst the frieze-slabs where the cihna of the Jinas is almost invariably present). To explain the rarity of Pārśva's serpent-cihna is difficult. Pārśva is of course already identified by his hood-circle, but Rsabha is similarly identified by his strands and yet his bull is represented more often than any other cihna. (This is a general observation. At Deogarh early-medieval Ṛṣabha-images *have no bull-cihna*, whereas the medieval Rsabha-images *need the bull-cihna* — the lateral strands being found on almost all images.) — At Deogarh the cihnas are rare in the early-medieval period (isolated instances are found in the Drum-Leaf Style: § 164). In the medieval period the cihna occurs frequently and in all classes If we leave aside the frieze-slabs where the variety of cihnas is comparatively wide, the distribution is as follows: More than fifty percent of all the images provided with a cihna have the bull. Of the remaining 23 cihnas only a limited number is actually found (elephant, horse, bird, crescent, deer, tortoise, conch, lion).

In the representation of yaksas and yaksīs (see §§ 14-15) we can distinguish three stages. In the earliest stage only one pair existed (Ambikā and her partner[1]) and this pair could be represented along with all Jinas. The Western Indian bronzes never progressed beyond this stage. In the second stage which is much in evidence at Deogarh, the pairs represented (all different from the pair of the first stage) differ slightly from case to case, but fixed types are not created and there is no firm connection between a particular Jina and a particular pair. The representation of the pair may vary even if the Jina is identical (§ 181: No 227 as compared with No. 229). This stage is not a transition from the first to the third but it marks the beginning of the trend towards variation. Sometimes even *attendant-figures* (wich occupy a similar place in the composition) are the objects of such variation: Uncouth Class, § 99. (The methods of variation are in both cases comparable to those found in a series of wall-figures[2]). The third stage where each Jina is represented along with his particular pair was

[1] A stuti calls the "partner" *Sarvānubhūti*. See U.P Shah, *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Vol. I/No. I, p. 4.

[2] There is however no connection between the varieties of the pair, the varieties of the uncouth attendant-figures and the varieties of figures found on the outer walls of Temple No. 12.

enjoined by the medieval authors but it never attained much prominence in the actual representations.

§ 265. The attributes which distinguish Pārśva and Ṛṣabha from the other Jinas have already been dealt with on earlier occasions. See §§ 13-14, §§ 129-33 (strands), § 260 (lateral strands), § 78 (atypical attendant-figures in Pārśva-images), § 233 (unconventional Pārśva-images), and § 262 (sources of Jain iconography). Only two points remain to be considered: We have to establish the exact difference between Ṛṣabha's hair and the hair of the other Jinas. Besides this we have to say a few words about representations of the 7th Jina Supārśva.

In the medieval period even non-Ṛṣabhas are very often shown with lateral strands (§ 190), and instances of Pārśva-images with this feature are not absent (§ 186). This is nothing more than a case of transfer. In the early-medieval period the situation is *analogous* in so far as certain strand-formulas are also found with non-Rsabhas. But there cihnas are normally not represented. Therefore a non-Ṛṣabha is recognized as such only if he is provided with a hood-circle. As a consequence, motifs restricted to Rsabhas can be recognized as such only if they never appear on an image with a hood-circle. These are the details (collected from the early-medieval images at Deogarh):

(1) Hybrid jatā: only non-Pārśvas
(2) Reduced jatā: only non-Pārśvas
(3) Lateral strands: only non-Pārśvas
(4) Unplaited strands: non-Pārśvas and Pārśvas
(5) Smooth jaṭā: non-Pārśvas and Pārśvas

(4) and (5) cannot be attributes of Rsabha. In the case of (1)-(3) this is possible. To be more precise: It is quite certain in the case of (1). For the general impression is that every conspicuous employment of strands (i.e. of strands in general) is avoided in the case of Pārśva (see e.g. § 190). (2) and (3) are probably *as a rule* attributes of Rsabhas; at Deogarh at least, (2) and (3) are never associated with Pārśva. — With respect to Pārśva the following is obtained: (1) is not permitted, (2) and (3) may be permitted at certain localities, and (4) as well as (5) are definitely permitted

With regard to his name and his iconography, Supārśva is a double of Pārśva. He is also to be represented with a hood-circle, and the authors have invented a legend to explain this feature (VON GLASENAPP, p. 273). Whereas Pārśva is always represented with seven hoods, Supārśva has only five (VON GLASENAPP, pp 25 and 27 of the photo section). In the early-medieval period, Supārśva was normally not shown. A double-image of the Drum-Style shows two Jinas, each with five hoods (Fig. 126). But probably Pārśva, not Supārśva, is meant, variation of one kind or the other being quite common in Pārśva's iconography[1]. Whenever the artists intended to represent Supārśva they showed Supārśva and Pārśva together in the same image[2]. This happened once in the early-medieval style (§ 187) and several times in the medieval style (§ 187, two examples; Pārśva and Supārśva on the sahasrabimbastambha mentioned on p. 34; Pārśva and Supārśva on a frieze-slab).

[1] Refer also to Fig. 335 showing a Pārśva with five hoods at Badami.

[2] The same method was employed in the case of Bharata and Bāhubalin However, these were also represented as independent images (Fig. 138 etc.)

CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE STYLE OF CENTRAL INDIA (AN ANALYSIS)

§ 266. In our classification and description of the Deogarh material the so-called *classes* occupy a key-position. We also feel that their importance might not be restricted to Deogarh. It is obvious that the analysis of a regional style can employ both minor and major classificatory units. The character of the material will suggest smaller units in one case and larger units in the other. At Deogarh for example we find in all periods small clearly defined units, the so-called groups and sets. Then there are conspicuous medium-sized units as the Uncouth Class and the Throne-Frame Class. The largest local units have been termed "styles" and one of the three styles found at Deogarh is again well-defined (the High-Relief Style — this has to some extent the character of a class, see § 175). It would however appear that the Deogarh classes and analogous units found elsewhere are the "real units" of classification (see § 259 where they were described as "corpuses of formulas"). Classification by classes is more difficult than classification by groups and sets and not always easier than classification by styles. Nevertheless the term "class" carries more weight than the others. The smaller units do not present a true plurality of images. It is after all sheer coincidence whether an image has been produced but once or whether it has been copied several times. The larger units in their turn have too few common features to be helpful for the description of the material. We therefore have no alternative but to rely on a unit similar to or identical with the Deogarh classes. Such an intermediate unit is normally comprised of 10-20 images but its definition should not be based on the number alone If we discover six to eight closely related images distributed over various locations and showing in spite of their resemblance a number of individual features, we are then entitled to use the term "class". We should also not hesitate to speak of "class" if a uniform type is spread over a wide area and represented by hundred or more specimens. In the first case we have not only unity but also true plurality; in the second case we have not only plurality but also true unity. The definition of similarity should also be reasonably flexible. The class may consist in one case of images having common stylistic characteristics and it may consist in another case of images linked by conspicuous iconographic features.

Monographs on individual classes would facilitate a better understanding of the term. The preparation of such monographs was however not attempted in the present enquiry. Partly because the importance of this particular unit became apparent only gradually. Partly because most features are shared by more than one class. It would therefore have gone against the principle of reduction to have dealt with each class separately. — It is the ultimate purpose of the present chapter to shed light on the term "class". But it was initially motivated by two points which have no direct bearing on the term class. One point is the relationship between Jinas and non-Jinas at Deogarh. The other point is the relationship between the Deogarh Jinas and the other Jinas of Central India. Only after considering these two issues shall we indicate how the term class can be given a broader basis (§ 272).

§ 267. At Deogarh, Jinas and non-Jinas are found side by side, and it is therefore not surprising that they are interrelated to some extent. In some cases the interrelation is such that

individual attributes are shared by Jinas and non-Jinas. Thus some attributes of the Jina-iconography may be transferred to non-Jinas. Take for example two images showing goddesses (both might be termed "Jain Tārās") which are provided with a triple parasol[1]. In this way each type (Jina, Tārā etc.) can be conceived as standing in the centre of several other types to which it is related. In Chapter 23 the categories are supplied according to which the various cases of similarity can be classified. In the present paragraph we just start from a particular type, surveying its relations to other types. The Jina-type is connected with the following (points of contact in brackets):

(1) Ācāryas (numerous attributes).
(2) Bāhubalin (strands etc. in the early-medieval period; in the medieval period, Jina and Bāhubalin are largely identical).
(3) Bharata (Jina and Bharata [derived from the cakravartin-type] are largely identical).
(4) Buddha (numerous attributes).
(5) An unknown Hindu type (Fig. 197).
(6) Lakṣmī (abhiṣeka-elephants).
(7) Śiva (jaṭā of the first Jina Ṛṣabha, bull-cihna of the first Jina Rsabha).
(8) Tārā (triple parasol).

Some of these relations apply to individual images at Deogarh, others are of a general character.

§ 268. The facts supplied in the previous paragraph were restricted to iconography in its narrowest sense. If we include further material in our comparison, we have to relate its results to our classification. It is obvious that most although not all class-types are also represented by non-Jinas. In this connection it is not very relevant whether a non-Jina is *included* into a particular class of Jinas or whether it is just regarded as associated with it We must however take into consideration the fact that the Deogarh classes are not necessarily classes of Jina-images. If the physiognomy of the Slender Class appears in the fragment (head) of a Hindu image (Fig. 91), then we cannot be absolutely sure that the type of the Slender Class is basically a type represented by Jina-images Again there are cases where non-Jinas form stylistic units which are in no way connected with the various classes of Jinas. Thus six or seven small images (mostly white or yellowish sandstone), all depicting Jain Tārās or similar goddesses, form a stylistic unit of their own. We do admit that the instances quoted are atypical rather than typical. But we wanted to emphasize that the Jina-type – although predominant — is not responsible for all developments at Deogarh

§ 269. In the case of the early-medieval period there is almost nothing that can be said about the relationship between the Deogarh Jinas and the other Jinas of Central India. At the moment one must be grateful for every photo of an early-medieval Jina in Central India which becomes available. It is true there are not too many specimens available. After all there are many places where building activities did not start before the Middle Ages (Khajuraho, Udaipur, Kadwaha — to mention only some of the most important sites). In the vicinity of Deogarh early-medieval monuments are found but sporadically (Kuchdon, Rakhetra/

[1] This case of transfer is very eye-catching as the triple parasol is one of those attributes which are limited to very few iconographic types

Gadhelna). Budhi Chanderi, Chandpur, Dudahi, Golakot, Gudar, Madanpur, Pachrahi, and Siron Khurd supply only medieval material. (This outburst of artistic activity in the Middle Ages is remarkable and cannot be explained by events in dynastic history.) It must nevertheless be borne in mind that the number of *early*-medieval monuments (in particular of images) is greater than the few publications available would have us believe. The early-medieval Jina-images at Deogarh and Pathari remained unpublished up to this day, mainly because they are found inside the temples where photographing is difficult. There is also no doubt valuable material which was neglected hitherto. According to the list of D. R. Patil (PATIL, p. 103), "Jain sculptures" (probably Jina-images are meant) are kept in an underground room at Narwar. The author assigns them to the 10th to 12th centuries but the possibility that the set includes early-medieval pieces must be reckoned with, quite apart from the fact that one would anyway like to have an idea of the nature of the material. Outside Deogarh, the author of the present work has come across a small collection of early-medieval Jina-images only in the Jain compound near Pathari (not to be confused with Pachrahi mentioned above). Even then we do get a few interesting parallels if we take into consideration these Pathari images and a few pieces from more distant localities. At Pathari we find images which can easily be attributed to the two early-medieval styles of Deogarh. They do not of course belong to any particular class, but this is also true of some early-medieval Jina-images at Deogarh which have style-membership but no class-membership (e.g. compare Fig. 137). Again the Gwalior Jina of Fig. 131 shows a form of the smooth jaṭā which is strongly reminiscent of the rendering of the smooth jaṭā at Deogarh (e.g. compare Fig. 109). Two partial parallels to the Uncouth Class are found at Rajgir and Sarnath respectively (Fig. 76: Rajgir; COOMARASWAMY, 171: Sarnath). The Rajgir image differs only in its parikara from related specimens of the Uncouth Class. The piece at Sarnath is a fragment consisting only of the head, which shows clear affinity with the Uncouth Class. — It would therefore appear that the few specimens available outside Deogarh are sufficient to demonstrate that the early-medieval Jina-images of Deogarh are by no means isolated.

§ 270. In the medieval period the material is so extensive that finding examples outside Deogarh presents no problem. There are dozens of places in Central India supplying Jina-images quite similar to those at Deogarh. The only question that remains is: Is there an exact demarcation line between this medieval style and other medieval styles, and if so, where. We shall make only one observation on this point. We come across Jina-images with a throne-formula unknown at Deogarh both at Sohagpur (*MASI* 23, Pl. 41b) and at Raipur (Museum, Photo No. 71/60 of the Central Department of Archaeology). There the distance between the throne-legs is so much reduced that the throne-top projects to the left and to the right, as a consequence the front part of the lions (which are shown back to back) protrudes beyond the legs. This seems to mark a different style, and the different formula is obviously concomitant with other deviating features[1]. — The Jina-images in the vicinity of Deogarh (Chandpur, Dudahi, Golakot, Siron Khurd, Budhi Chanderi) are so closely related to the Jina-images found at Deogarh that they can sometimes be included in groups of Deogarh images (Leaf-Circlet Group). Membership of one of the classes found at Deogarh can even be

[1] Similarly we can try to demarcate the early-medieval styles by reference to the double-leaf At Deogarh and a few other places with early-medieval images the double-leaf is derived from the palmyra-motif In more distant localities the leaves of the "double-leaf" show a herring-bone pattern (representing either the veins of a single leaf or the elements of a pinnate leaf [i.e. of a compound leaf]) See for example SHAH, *Akota*, Pl. 6b, 7, and 40. This formula is found at Deogarh but once (Fig 243).

established for *all* the images supplied by these places. Chandpur and Budhi Chanderi belong to the Resting Class and to the Hovering Class, whereas Siron Khurd belongs exclusively to the Hovering Class (some images already foreshadowing the Geometrical Class). Our so-called New Class has no parallels outside Deogarh. The unit of the modern images (within the New Class) is probably confined to Deogarh, and the same may be true of the other images of this class which are a late offshoot of the Hovering Class (§ 207). Specimens of the Geometrical Class can be seen here and there. *Important* images showing the geometrical trend are found at Indor (large tritīrthikā) and Pachrahi (Fig. 230B), but in these cases the elaborate parikara and other deviations make inclusion in the Geometrical Class as such difficult.

§ 271. The medieval period is distinguished from the early-medieval period not only by the change in style but also by the appearance of new motif-types. An example found amongst the Jain images at Deogarh are the ācārya-images. The ācārya as such is just a new type (like Bharata and Bāhubalin) and would not merit any particular comment. After all new types are introduced in all periods. But here there is a difference in the *motif-type*. Ācāryas are represented in more than one way and only some of the representations follow the general pattern of the Jina-images. A second new motif-type is represented by the rows and fields (i.e. superimposed rows) of miniature-Jinas. These rows and fields appear on specially prepared pillars and slabs or on the Jina-images themselves (Figs. 3 and 199; earlier examples are rare: Fig. 27) — Another change concerns the employment of certain partial motifs. Thus there is a tendency to cram the images with architectural motifs, and the panels on the lower door-frames with vegetable motifs. Formerly, architectural motifs were comparatively rare whereas vegetable motifs could be used everywhere. Similarly the throneframe-animals disappeared for the most part from the images — a fact compensated by the importance they assumed in the decorative programme of the outer walls and door-frames of the temples.

§ 272. The important question of the existence of classes outside Deogarh (and its vicinity) can only be discussed briefly. In the case of Deogarh the available local material was sufficient to establish not only one but more than one class both for the early-medieval and for the medieval period. But such a concentration of images is rare. We can therefore assume *a priori* that other classes in Central India normally include images distributed over a wide area and therefore less closely related.

These new classes are however not uniform in character. Some are analogous to the local classes at Deogarh, whereas others have a lesser degree of unity. These others are actually connected with the principle of "parallels" (§ 258) Different images have similar formulas — and as soon as the similarity goes a bit farther, a criterion is obtained for establishing class-like units which make it possible to organize the material.

We have already mentioned in § 269 two images (from Rajgir and Sarnath respectively) which are partially related to the Uncouth Class. The two specimens under review could of course not be included in the Uncouth Class itself as parallels in the parikara could not be established (see § 269). It would nevertheless appear that we can include both these "foreign" specimens and the motif I images of the Uncouth Class in a new unit which we shall simply call "Class I". Compare Figs. 274-75. — The Classes II and III show opposite features (Figs. 276-79). In his description of a Bodhisattva torso from Sanchi, Benjamin Rowland has already emphasized the importance of metallic elements in figure sculpture

(*The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 146). We shall include in our Class II all those images where the metallic elements are prominent. This feature is a typically early-medieval development. On the other hand we also come across images where the metallic elements are reduced to a minimum. In this connection we shall use the term "*Soft Class*" (III) in contradistinction to the "*Hard Class*" (II). No doubt, many figures occupy an intermediate position between these two extremes. That the two classes are nevertheless fairly well defined is due to the fact that each class is only employed for certain iconographic types (compare § 271 on the restriction of certain partial motifs to certain motif-types in the early-medieval period). Class II includes male figures with mukuṭa (Indra, Viṣṇu etc), Class III figures with jaṭā (principally wall-figures). — Class IV is more hypothetical than Classes I-III. It consists of comparatively large images, actually meant for worship, the wide open eyes of which are reminiscent of primitive idols (Figs. 388-89).

The last two classes include medieval specimens. Figs. 280-82 show Viṣṇu. A common feature of the three images is the large cakra (shown face-on) to the right and the heavy mace to the left. As this formula (i.e. the particular rendering of cakra and mace) is rather prominent and as it is restricted to a particular Viṣṇu-type (non-Avatāra Viṣṇu with a single [human] head) it may well form the basis for establishing a class. — It seems also possible to establish a sixth class characterized by filigree-like hip-ornaments. Several examples have been reproduced (see Figs. 244-46, 288-9). Further instances are furnished by a female figure at Nokhas (ZIMMER, Pl. 323) and by the two examples mentioned in § 220 (Pithaura, Jatkari). The Harshagiri specimen is rather early ("973 A.D.") and shows that the formula was developed at that date. — It is perhaps also possible to establish a class on the basis of the hip-ornaments seen in Figs 286-87. We shall however confine ourselves to the description of the six proposed classes.

(5) Form-type (§ 279)
(6) Motif-type (§ 280).

§ 275. A formula is a specific rendering of a particular motif. To this general definition the following details must be added. The term formula normally applies to a particular rendering of a partial motif (e.g. of the double-leaf in the four images shown in Fig. 178) Again this partial motif must be isolated from the other partial motifs in the same image; it must appear in a number of pieces in almost identical form, and the particular rendering must differ sufficiently from other renderings. Because of the last condition, and only because of this, the material shown in Fig. 178 is in itself not sufficient to demonstrate that the rendering of the four double-leaves has the character of a formula. The repetition of the same form may just be a case of exact copying. This would not exclude the possibility that the relevant form represents only an isolated moment in a continuous process of development (a moment which is not much distinguished from the previous one and from the following one — compare the development of the palmyra capital). Only in the context of the contemporary Deogarh material can we establish that the double-leaf of Fig. 178 is a form in its own right (third condition). In the case of the double-leaf of Fig. 243 however, all the material at Deogarh does not suffice to settle the point as the form is restricted to one single image. Parallels are however found at other places (see SHAH, *Akota*, 61). They show that the condition II is fulfilled (as regards conditions I and III, the position is already made clear by the Deogarh material). — Here and elsewhere we have to ask whether the number of instances demonstrating a particular phenomenon is normal or unexpectedly high In the last case and only then we could speak of a typically Indian phenomenon (the "phenomenon" consisting strictly speaking not of the occurrence but of the frequency of the occurrence) In the present context we may say that the importance of formulas varies in Indian art according to the period and province but that the importance is probably on the whole greater than in comparable art-provinces

Different formulas are in the first place so many renderings of a particular object. Thus we come across different renderings of trees and clouds. However the very existence of the double-leaf formula shows that the formulas are often only very loosely connected with reality. I can pick out a "double-leaf" from a twig but as such the double-leaf has no place *either* in the literary world (mythology etc.) *or* in the botanical world The distinction between literature and botany (zoology etc.) is by no means without importance. The "inverted tree" for example is not a botanical reality but it has its place in mythology. The double-leaf falls into *neither* category but is an artistic entity. To some extent Indian art is *neither* a reflection of the real world, *nor* a reflection of an ideal world, but an independent cosmos. This cosmos must be explored. The student of Indian art will therefore collect formulas just as the botanist collects his species. — What has been said is true of formulas in their narrowest and in their widest sense: It applies not only to the former, but also to formulas for larger units (e.g. the throne) and to the remaining types of types (excepting the motif-types).

§ 276. Formulas can be "collected" in a systematic manner Each formula appears in the cadre of one or several "image-types" (§ 277). Thus the double-leaf at Deogarh belongs primarily to various varieties of the image-type "Jina". To demonstrate the method, we select — instead of the double-leaf — a motif depicted with a somewhat greater degree of variety, viz. the seat-lotus (more correctly the seat-lotus of the early-medieval Jina-images). The reader is referred in this connection to Fig. 389 A. This combines two schemes of different structure

PART THREE

THE METHOD

(List of Motifs, Guide to Formulas). In the first case I start from the complete image and proceed via the "throne" and the "throne-top" to the "seat-lotus". In other words I proceed from the whole to the part Then I switch over from the upper to the lower scheme. The lower scheme takes us from the general to the particular. Here we can use both, consecutive subdivisions (as in the List of Motifs) and parallel divisions. The first two "divisions" are consecutive, the remaining ones are parallel (distinguished by the Roman figures I, II, III).

I can subdivide a given item according to the characteristics chosen — a, b (c...), 1, 2 (3...) — into two or more divisions each being subdivided in two or more ways. Theoretically this gives for a.b., 1.2 the four permutations a.1, a.2, b.1, b.2. These can be represented by way of consecutive division:

a
 1
 2
b
 1
 2

It is however by no means certain whether all these four permutations can be traced in practice. We therefore prefer parallel divisions in order to reduce the number of examples required In that case, two examples (a.1, b.2 *or* a.2, b.1) are sufficient for a.b, 1.2. Moreover the parallel divisions save us from the trouble of establishing a *sequence* of divisions. It is easy to distinguish between a round and a pointed formula if only this characteristic (round/pointed) is relevant. But if a second characteristic (e.g. single/twofold) is added, then it becomes difficult to say which characteristic takes precedence. Are "round" and "pointed" subdivisions of "single" ("twofold"); or are "single" and "twofold" subdivisions of "round" ("pointed")? Such are the problems of a scheme of *concrete* formulas ("a.1, a.2, b.1, b.2").

As Fig. 389A includes a guide to *formulas in their narrowest sense*, the switch over from the upper to the lower scheme takes place from the lowest level of the upper scheme (level of the partial motifs) In the case of a guide to the larger units within an image *(formulas in their widest sense)* the switch over has to start from the higher level of the upper scheme (e.g. throne-top or throne). If the whole image is concerned the upper scheme disappears completely. Then we are no longer concerned with partial motifs. We only get subdivisions like "seated/standing", "Pārśva/non-Pārśva".

The basic idea of Fig. 389A is to secure completeness: complete recording of the motifs and complete recording of the formulas. Anything like one hundred percent completeness is of course not under consideration. We rather want to restrict the widespread tendency of selective treatment. To give an example: It would be in line with this selective tendency to emphasize in the present context certain "important" motifs like the double-leaf (which plays a part in the classification) and the strands (the bizarre forms of which strike the observer). In contrast to this we propose to establish a certain balance between the principle of selection (certainly necessary at times) and the principle of completeness.

§ 276 A. The treatment of the formulas constitutes the form-history. This may be descriptive (in the sense of recording) or historical. Form-history emphasizes the precedence of formal factors. The double-leaf of the Jina cannot be isolated from related motifs (i.e. from motifs related to it in their *form*), e g from double-leaves or comparable vegetable motifs

CHAPTER TWENTY

TYPES

§ 273. The nature of the material makes it imperative to discuss the method employed in more detail than would normally be the case. It must however be admitted that some of the problems touched upon have no direct bearing on the subject of the present monograph.

A certain portion of the methodology has already been incorporated in several chapters of Part II. This was necessitated by the material which could otherwise not have been described with due precision. Those stray references (marked in the Table of Contents with an asterisk) are now supplemented by the seven chapters of Part III.

The basic idea behind the methodology is this: The method should be such that the possibilities of describing the material in a simple, comprehensive, and undisputed manner are exploited to their full extent. Hence the methodology is a concrete one.

To make the description of the method a realistic proposition it was necessary to leave certain things to one side. Firstly we emphasized the main features of our structure without going into too great detail. Secondly we have considered in Chapters 20-25 other fields than art only under two sets of circumstances, (i) whenever we just wanted to stress the fact that a particular method could be used outside the field of art as well, (ii) whenever the very nature of the discussion made it necessary to refer simultaneously to more than one branch of knowledge. Thirdly our method(s) was (were) not correlated to parallel or divergent methods followed by others.

The reader must bear in mind that the present monograph was not just written to demonstrate a preconceived method. On the contrary the method gradually emerged as the work progressed. As a consequence, Part II is not quite up to date as compared with Part III which represents the method in its latest form. We have however tried to bring Part II in line with Part III as far as possible.

§ 274 The fact that two forms may resemble each other is of basic interest. It is therefore not enough to establish parallels here and there in a haphazard manner. We must rather have a precise idea of similarity in its various forms: Two images may agree *in toto* or in part, and in each case we have a wide scale of possibilities ranging from identity to remote similarity. Apart from that similarity can be taken in a concrete manner (iconographic similarity) and in an abstract manner (stylistic similarity).

If two forms are similar in one way or the other we say that they follow the same *type*. We shall therefore use the term "type" while describing the relevant facets of similarity. It seems practical to establish the following types (more precisely "types of types")[1].

(1) Formula (§ 275)
(2) Figure-type (§ 277)
(3) Image-type (§ 277)
(4) Composition-type (§ 278)

[1] Palaeographical types and purely stylistic types are not included.

Class with Miniature-Jinas
Section of the Late Images
Fair Class
Medieval Jinas
Resting Class
Hovering Class
Modern Class
Geometrical Class

This list of 'image-types' does not only demonstrate the term, it also suggests a division which slightly deviates from that proposed throughout the book[1]. This difference is however not relevant to the present discussion. — Only Jina-images are covered by the above list although in our normal definition (Part II) the classes also include non-Jinas. The reason for this is as follows. Images which differ in their motifs *may* still belong to one and the same image-type provided that the difference between the motifs is not too great. Thus Jina-images and Buddha-images can belong to the same image-type. It is however not advisable to include for example Jinas and *goddesses* in one and the same image-type. In so far as we have included in Part II strongly divergent non-Jinas in our Jina-classes (numbers were of course not assigned to these non-Jinas) the definition of the classes has been shifted there from the iconographic side to the stylistic side. Contrary to this we have tried in the present chapter to eliminate stylistic factors from our sequence of types. Hence the elimination of non-Jinas from our scheme. Wherever necessary one can use the wider term "class-type" while referring to classes the definition of which is not strictly iconographical

§ 278. The three remaining types of types are less important than the first three. Most "composition-types" are common to a fairly large number of images. Thus we can say that all the standing Jinas of the Drum-Style and of the Section of the Plain Images (Drum-Leaf Style) represent one and the same composition-type. Other composition-types are represented by the tritīrthikā-images among the West Indian bronze Jinas (SHAH, *Akota*, 22, 29 etc.), by the bronze Naṭarājas, the many-armed medieval goddesses of Central India (particularly those belonging to one and the same set) etc. The deciding factor in the establishment of a composition type is not the number of specimens. What matters is that images of different character display the type in question. Thus the Hovering Class represents an image-type which automatically includes a composition-type. Therefore this composition-type does not figure as such but is determined by the character of the *class*. On the other hand the two images illustrated in *Distinction* as Figs. 53-54 and the four objects illustrated in the same article as Figs. 55-58 differ in more than one respect, the composition being the only common factor.

§ 279. Like the composition-type the "form-type" is purely formal (the contents do not come into the picture). But whereas the composition-type referred to the whole composition the term "form-type" is used in connection with a single element (same relation as between image-type and formula). Thus the bhāmaṇdala can be replaced by other *disk-like* objects

[1] The Section of the Plain Images has been included in the "Drum Style" (= I), and the Fair Class has been included in the "Drum-Leaf Style" (= II). Again the New Class is reduced to the so-called "modern" images, its other images having been included in the Hovering Class Compare for these alternative classifications §§ 97 and 207.

appearing above the Buddha, above Viṣṇu and so on. Conversely, motifs with the same *contents* but with a different form (e.g. a fully fledged tree) can only be included in a description of the double-leaf if there is *some* sort of formal connection with the double-leaf (e.g. identical place in the composition). — Form-history is basically the history of formulas. We prefer the expression "form-history" partly because it is already used in other fields of knowledge. And partly because the term "formula" is very specific, creating the problem of distinguishing between formulas and mere forms, and the problem of establishing concrete formulas by way of consecutive division (instead of resorting to "parallel divisions" wherever necessary).

Our study of form-history becomes most evident in the drawings. The collection of drawings is however more descriptive than historical. Here as elsewhere we refrained from establishing historical connections whenever the available evidence was not sufficient. Therefore the drawings (and the text accompanying them) combine a maximum of documentation with a minimum of derivation.

§ 277. The next two "types of types" are the figure-type and the image-type. Instead of a definition we give one example in each instance. *Figure-type*:

- Male figure with curls
  - Non-ascetic figures
    - Visnu[1]
    - Vaisnava-figures (Vāmana, Cakrapurusa[2])
    - Others
  - Ascetic figures
    - Buddha
    - Jina (as a *type* comprised of the following:)
      - Jina
      - Bharata
      - Bāhubalin
    - Lakulīśa

In most cases, other types of hair are also admitted The number of common attributes increases towards the base (in our arrangement towards the right) — The examples for the *image-type* are all taken from Deogarh:

- Jina-images at Deogarh
  - Early-medieval Jinas I (non-decorative)
    - Uncouth Class
    - Slender Class
    - Far Eastern Class
    - Partite-Jatā Class
    - Flat-Jatā Class
    - Section of the Plain Images
  - Early-medieval Jinas II (decorative)
    - Throne-Frame Class

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[1] We are referring to the bronze image in the Museum of Indian Art, Berlin (*Indologen-Tagung 1959*, Essen, pp 166-67).

[2] *Indologen-Tagung* 1959, pp. 166 and 176-77

appearing behind the head; similarly the true parasol can be replaced by a parasol *in the form of a lotus*. Such cases can be classified in more than one way. It makes for example a difference whether two motifs showing the same form-type occupy corresponding places in different images (the normal case) or different places in one and the same image (Fig. 183, elements of the throne-top). We can however leave such differences to one side as we are always dealing with one and the same type of type (see *Distinction*, Figs. 17-32, 38-50, 52, 59-61, 71-75, 88-89).

§ 280. As we proceed, the inner unity of the types becomes less and less Our last instance is the "motif-type". Images with anthropomorphous (or therio-anthropomorphous) gods represent *one* motif-type while theriomorphous representations form *another* motif-type. It would probably not be possible to survey all the possible composition-types in Indian art, but a survey of all the motif-types would be both feasible and welcome. Thereby the rare motif-types would come into prominence and we would have an idea of Indian iconography in all its complexity[1]. A much neglected motif-type is formed by those compositions which are not hierarchical but consist of a great number of small figures distributed over one or several surfaces. This motif-type resolves itself into various sub-types (which differ more from one another than different composition-types):

Theriomorphous Varāhas
Sculptured rock-faces
Slabs
  Superimposed rows
  Concentric circles
Pillars

§ 281. The results of a typological approach to Indian art vary from case to case. The study of *formulas* does not only bring specific formulas into relief but brings home in a precise manner the concept of formula as such. The emphasis on *image*-types (or class-types as established in the present monograph) does not really involve a new approach, but an extensive study of these types helps to reduce the mass of material (each type is represented by more than one image) to reasonable proportions. The study of *figure*-types results in a system which pays due regard to formal factors (without however being based on formal relations alone). Finally the investigation into *motif*-types and *formulas* is of prime importance for any appraisal of Indian art. Here the principle of completeness can be made effective on a broad front (§ 280 with foot-note) so that an improved over-all view of Indian art results.

§ 282. In other fields of knowledge the various types of types must be set out according to the prevailing conditions. In the case of narrative literature (in its widest sense) we get primarily the following set of types:

Formula or *topos* (king as protector of his subjects)
Partial motif (princess and half the kingdom)
Motif (King Śibi)
Chain of related or identical stories (Avatāras)

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[1] Lists of widely divergent formulas for the same motif would serve the same purpose Take the following main formulas of the jatā kaparda (Mathura Buddha), ordinary jatā, jatāmaṇḍala (Garuḍa etc), flying jatā (Naṭarāja), radiating jaṭā (Gajāntaka), jaṭāmukuṭa (Śiva etc).

Cadre of motifs (courtship in the garden: Mālavikāgnimitra etc.)
Cadre of concepts (ahiṃsā etc.[1])

Another important instance of the "cadre of motifs" is legendary biography. Thus biographies of saints tend to have recurring features up to our time. Again the pattern of the Cakravartin-biography (not easily separated from the Krsna-biography) has played an important part in ancient Indian literature.

§ 283. In §§ 258-60 we have already placed and explained the problem of "discrepancy and parallels". "Discrepancy" is the use of different formulas for the same motif, and this phenomenon can be established under two conditions. The formulas must be really different, and there must be a really close connection in space and time. The definition of "parallels" is just the reverse. In this definition the word *formula* is employed in its widest sense (§ 275 end). — Examples of discrepancy and parallels will mainly be found in Figs. 272-75, 283-95, 384-85. These instances and others, mentioned in the text of the monograph, can be classified. We can distinguish between sculpture and architecture, style and iconography, and so on We can also quote rare cases like the employment of two different formulas for the same motif occurring in one and the same image (§ 227: Image No. 310 [lateral strands]; § 229: Image No. 316 [double-leaf]). Again there may be differences in the historical interpretation. If at Deogarh different classes exist side by side, we are inclined to speak of stylistic pluralism (§ 96). If on the other hand different formulas are found in similar images (and *vice versa*) we would rather say that there was a perennial *lingua franca* of formulas and that everybody was entitled to select out of several available formulas those which were best suited for his purpose The simple consequence is that the individual formula is not necessarily linked up with a particular period and province and that it does not necessarily tell us anything about chronology and geography (i.e. about date and provenance). See § 259.

§ 284. Figs. 272/73, 274/75 and again Figs 384/85, 386/87, 388/89 demonstrate parallels. In the case of Figs. 274/75 we are dealing with specimens of one and the same class ("Class I" of § 272[2]). As Fig. 274 shows only the head, the reader is also referred to Fig. 78 (lower portion of an image which belongs to the same group) for a more complete comparison. The similarity between the images of Figs. 272 and 273 lies in the treatment of the head and in the employment of a plain circular field which effectively sets off the head. Figs. 384/85 demonstrate identity of formulas. Figs. 386 and 387 show divergent but nevertheless clearly related formulas. Fig. 387 serves mainly as an explanation for Fig. 386, however. Figs 388/89 are just one more instance of a parallel. The similarity is apparent in the eyes and in some other features which cannot be derived from the drawing (massiveness etc.). Tentatively we have established a class based on these and other images ("Class IV" of § 272). In all the five cases the specimens compared differ greatly in both date and origin.

We now come to discrepancy (Figs. 283-85, 286/88, 290-92, 293-95). The fabulous monsters of Fig. 283 (half plant, half animal) are stylistically related to much older renderings of the same motif (compare Fig. 284), whereas the carvings on the miniature-capitals of Fig. 283 are

[1] *ahimsā* (not injuring), *maitrī* (love), *abhayadāna* (giving protection), *dāna* (liberality), *dayā* (mercy). All these ideas constitute one "cadre of concepts".

[2] Specimens belonging to a class which covers a fairly contiguous area are not included in the present survey. Figs. 274/75 and 388/89 are no exceptions to this rule, as they are separate in time and/or space.

in keeping with contemporary art (Fig. 285). Figs. 286 and 288 remind us of the fact that the hip-ornaments of the four goddesses of Temple No. 19 (Nos. 302, 304-06) follow partly a "massive" formula (Fig. 287; Images Nos. 304-06) and partly a "delicate" formula (Fig. 289; Image No. 302). Figs. 290-92 show corresponding sections of three door-frames at Deogarh. These are dated (from left to right): samvat 1105, 1120, and 1133 respectively. Suppose we were to establish the relative chronology on the basis of the various stages of development represented. We would assign the first place to the latest image, the second place to the oldest image, and the third place to the intermediate image. — The three pillars of Figs. 293-95 all belong to the maṇḍapa of one and the same temple at Osia. Had the pillars been found in isolation from one another we would insist that they belong to different periods. In fact they do not only belong to the same time but even to the same structure. Now it might be conjectured that different parts of the building required different types of pillars. But this is at least not the case in the temple quoted. We feel that the three sets of pillars are interchangeable.

Figs. 290-92 do not seem to present a case of discrepancy as the three door-frames are not of the same date. In order to bring the case in line with the definition for discrepancy we have to bring the three types or formulas together at one point in time. First we propose the following *stylistic* sequence: Fig. 292, 290 and 291. Assuming that this is correct we can conclude that the comparatively modern formulas of Figs. 290 and 291 existed at least up to samvat 1133 when such an archaic formula as that of Fig 292 was still in vogue (we may also argue that in samvat 1120 the formula of samvat 1105 was *still* in existence and that the formula of samvat 1133 was *already* in existence) In other words the three formulas must at one time or the other have existed simultaneously and at one and the same locality.

Examples of discrepancy mentioned previously are the wall-figures of Temple No. 12 (§ 93), and the Date-Group (§ 181) where the dates are again not in line with the stylistic facts. It can also be said that "sets" where the members belong to more than one "group" always supply examples of discrepancy. The difference is however limited in so far as the members of the same set always belong to one and the same class. — In the cases of discrepancies mentioned so far we observed broadly speaking maximum proximity but only moderate differences. In the case of the various classes at Deogarh it is the other way round. Here we get most striking differences between the classes but less proximity in the sense that there is no structural etc. connection and that a difference in time extending up to 2-4 generations is possible

Figs. 276-282 primarily demonstrate classes of the type proposed in Chapter 19 But Fig. 278 presents an instance of discrepancy if compared with Fig 11 (both photos showing details of the Telī-kā-mandir): The figures of Fig. 278 are "soft", those of Fig 11 are "hard" (see § 272).

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

SYSTEMS

§ 285. In the previous chapter we have discussed different types of types. Here we are dealing with different types of *systems*. A division into three types seems to be called for:

(1) Different media
(2) Different branches within the same medium
(3) Different religions or sects.

There are only two media: literature (including oral tradition) and art[1]. Each "branch" either belongs to literature or to art. Art includes painting, sculpture etc.; literature includes narrative literature, art-theoretical literature etc. Each branch is subdivided into sub-branches. Thus we distinguish in the case of painting between wall-panting, miniature-painting etc.; and in the case of narrative literature between mythology, legend etc. Each sub-branch resolves itself into a number of "natural systems" — monuments, texts etc. Thus we have to distinguish in the case of wall-paintings between the various periods and provinces (down to single monuments), and in the case of mythology between the various literary strata (down to single texts). — Religions are Nāgism, Hīnayāna-Buddhism etc. Religions may resolve themselves into natural systems (different texts and temples — to mention the smallest units), but these subdivisions are already covered by the subdivisions within the branches mentioned above.

The varying degree of affinity between the various systems does not *necessarily* follow from the scheme as a whole. What is kept apart in the scheme may be closely related in reality and *vice versa*. We can for example not exclude the possibility that a North Indian image fits in with the description of the relevant deity in a South Indian text while differing greatly from a representation of the same deity on the same temple. — The depth of the whole scheme is at some points considerable:

- Art
  - Sculpture
    - Particular period
      - Particular province
        - Group of temples
          - Single temple
            - Section of the surface of a temple
              - Single image (§ 289)

§ 286. As we have seen, systems like sculpture and painting differ from one another in themselves (*as* systems), while others — the natural systems — differ due to differences in time, space etc. Of course there can even be a combination of both, e.g. if we compare North

[1] The field of human iconography (sādhus etc.) is left aside as far as it is not reflected in art. The same is true of court-iconography (insignia, seals etc.) — which overlaps with human iconography (royal attire etc.)

Indian sculpture with South Indian literature (i.e. iconographic literature). The individual case must however always be considered on its own merits. A difference between art and literature concerning the hand-attributes of a particular god need have nothing to do with the difference in media. Differences of exactly the same type may be found if we compare different *literary descriptions* of the same god — or different *artistic representations* of him. It is on the other hand possible that a difference in time approximates to a difference in media. Thus the medieval Jina-images at Deogarh have no prominent strands, whereas strands are much in evidence in certain units of the early-medieval period (Uncouth Class etc.). But this is not one out of innumerable differences existing between different periods and provinces. We would rather say that it is a logical result of a radical change in the artistic sentiment: Many early-medieval artists experimented with the bodily shape (head, hair, hands) while the medieval art was mainly decorative. To sum up: The scheme given at the beginning of § 285 helps us to arrange the material, but precise information regarding the degree of difference or affinity (§ 285) and regarding the character of a difference (this paragraph) cannot be derived from it.

§ 287. It would perhaps be practical to describe the difference between *art and literature* in a manner which is specially tailored to this case. It seems practical to distinguish between three kinds of differences:

(1) Differences conditioned by the difference in the medium
(2) Differences conditioned by the difference in the tradition.
(3) Differences conditioned by the artist's own vision or whim.

Instances of the first kind are symmetry, hierarchic scaling etc. The term "tradition" comprises differences in time and space (natural systems) as well as differences in religion. Whether we distinguish Jainism from Buddhism *or* Northern India from Southern India *or* one text from another text — we can always speak of different traditions. The third kind of difference is a replica of the second kind in miniature. It must nevertheless be treated as a difference in its own right. The lack of iconographical uniformity which can often be observed on one and the same temple shows that the artists *did not let any conventions worry them*. It is however possible that donors and learned sādhus (or pandits) were as responsible for this as the artists.

We now return once more to the differences 1-2. Theoretically agreement between art and literature can be brought about in two ways. Either the artists follow the literature or the literature just reflects the artistic conventions In fact both apply, but not in the sense of a symmetrical process of mutual giving and taking. It is more true to say that the iconography of each *epoch* was established by the artists who made full use of literary and oral tradition as well as of their own vision. The result was then recorded in the texts, and these texts were again followed by the individual artists notwithstanding much variation in detail. The first iconographical "wave" resulted in the pre-classical system (nāgas, trees etc.). This was followed in turn by the classical system (Buddha, Visnu, Sūrya etc.), the medieval system (many-armed goddesses, immense increase in the number of deities) and finally by the system of miniature-painting (Pahārī, Rājasthānī etc.). In addition to the official art there was always the folk-art, more or less independent from the former and more or less primitive, the most notable example of this is the host of idols under worship in India's shrines and temples.

In conclusion we have to discuss differences between art and literature from the logical point of view. The differences may be differences in general or they may be contradictory. In the first type the artist either adds elements which are not in disharmony with the texts, or he omits elements which are not absolutely necessary. In the second type we are dealing with

contradictions. The character of these contradictions is not uniform. In the first place we mention the effect of "non-epic representation" (*Distinction*, § 73). Non-epic representation is responsible for the fact that elements belonging to different myths are represented on one and the same image. Here we are of course mainly dealing with a difference between art and the original *mythological* texts. The iconographical texts have often sanctioned such icons. Secondly there are the innumerable cases where a particular iconographic feature is not in harmony with the *iconographic* texts. Thus an early-medieval Sarasvatī would be represented with a conch which is not prescribed in the iconographic texts (Fig. 52). Here we can never rule out the possibility that the relevant feature (conch) is based on a text unknown to us. Thirdly there are the *narrative* panels (Bharhut etc.). These may deviate from the texts, and only in such cases we can use the word "contradiction" with confidence. Because in the field of myths and legends the tradition is fairly uniform we are in a position to say what the representations should look like. — Refer also to § 262.

§ 288. The fact that art is a medium different from literature determines our language. Thus male and female figures are normally only distinguished by the absence or presence of the female breasts. Other methods of differentiation were not always employed. As a consequence one is tempted to speak of "male" and "female figures", and not of *men* and *women*. Similarly one prefers the expression "female cāmara-bearer" to "girl with cāmara". — Again the standing posture is not rendered in a way which is convincing from the point of view of anatomy. All we can say is that the legs are parallel to one another and that the figure is erect. As the figures do therefore not *stand* in the true sense one feels that it is sufficient to say e.g. "a cāmara-bearer is depicted" or "appears". The expression "stands" is necessary only where other postures (hovering posture etc.) could also be imagined.

The two cases mentioned concern primarily the style, but the adjustment of the language to its object calls also for *words to be coined*. We realize that these confront the reader with a problem, but the very concept of formulas makes the creation of new words imperative. If the formulas should receive more attention in the future than they received in the past a standardization of the terms would be possible. A "dictionary of formulas employed in Buddhist and Jain iconography" would not be an unrealistic proposition. The lateral strands would be assured of a place therein. More specialized terms like the "Budhi Chanderi formula" of the curls (§ 204) would of course always be restricted to individual monographs.

A third difficulty arises from the numerous terms denoting categories and stylistic units. The most intriguing example is furnished by the terms set out in Chapter 23.

These remarks would be superfluous if the employment of methods approved in fields of knowledge different from the one under consideration were a matter of course. But so far neither the methods of numismatics and heraldry (formulas etc.) nor the methods of linguistics and literary history ("system", "type" etc.) have been introduced into the study of Indian art. (For terms in palaeography refer to A. H. DANI, *Indian Palaeography*, pp. 273-89).

The *language* we were referring to is actually only one out of several possible languages which can be employed for the description of a piece of art. This language *describes* the forms. We then have a language which *analyzes* the forms. Here the "structure" of a piece of art is under consideration (emphasis on the horizontal/emphasis on the vertical, geometrical/natural anatomy, etc.). A third language describes the piece of art with regard to its actual or supposed *significance*. The present author has brought in significance in an outward sense only (identification of figures and objects).

§ 289. We have heard that Indian iconography resolves itself into a multitude of widely differing systems. It has however not yet been explained why we use the term "system" also for the smaller items, e.g. for an individual temple. If the gods of Indian iconography were well-defined and unchangeable entities, then the individual temple would differ from other temples only by virtue of the selection and arrangement of the gods shown. Thus the original contribution would be too insignificant to make the study of the iconography of a particular temple very rewarding. It would suffice to prepare a sort of *thesaurus* which lists all the gods occurring in a particular area, mentioning only in the case of the less common types the temples where the figures are found. But actually the figures influence each other to a large extent and in many different ways so that each temple has not only certain characteristics (e.g. frequent occurrence of the so-called "thigh-posture" or frequent occurrence of the lemon-fruit as a hand-attribute) but also a number of figures which are in their entirety derived from other figures in the series or devised in accordance with the general character of the series. Hence the term "system". See also § 320.

Even an individual image may display the peculiarities of a system. This is true *inter alia* of a medieval bronze Jina of the Deccan published by Douglas Barrett. It shows a seated Jina in the centre, flanked by Pārśva and Bāhubalin to the left and to the right. No less than six of the remaining ten figures (three to the left and three to the right) carry a lemon in one hand. One of these six figures is the yaksa represented to the left (identical with "Ambikā's partner") and it is from there that the attribute was transferred to the rest. See *Oriental Art* V (1959), pp. 162 ff. The female figure corresponding to the yaksa has four arms, carries a lemon in one hand (one of the six cases where this attribute appears) and is not identical with Ambikā.

What is true of the lesser systems is also true of classes and groups provided they are found in one and the same locality. It is only for the sake of simplicity that we have not included these stylistic units among our systems. The boundaries of the latter are always self-evident whereas it is normally difficult to establish an exact line of demarcation between different stylistic units.

§ 290. According to the normal definition, iconography deals with concepts which have taken concrete shape in art. Iconography can however also be defined without regard to the medium. It can then be said that iconography studies the external aspect of the gods whether represented in art alone, in art *and* literature, or in literature alone. In the last case iconography deals with the invisible. A case in point is the god Indra. In literature numerous objects are mentioned (e.g. chariot, bow, and banner) which are not only occasionally *used* by Indra but which are fully fledged attributes of the god. All these were however nowhere shown in iconoplastic art. Besides there is a wide range of mythological concepts which were either not represented at all or did not receive from the artists the attention they deserved (Manu, the 33 Gods, the celestial cows, the Kāmadhenu, Rāma and Sītā; Kūrmāvatāra and Matsyāvatāra). The *reason* for the omission may differ from case to case but the fact is always the same. A matter of special interest is the absence of reliefs which depict the cosmographical-theological systems of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jains (i.e. those systems where the description of the world and the description of the gods are welded into a unit).

§ 291. From what has been said it follows automatically that the concept of system applies not only to art itself but also to iconographic literature. Different iconographic texts may present different iconographic systems.

If we introduce the term "system" also in other fields of literature we have to explain in

which sense the term is to be understood. "Systems" more or less analogous to those just described are to be found in speculative literature. A certain layer of dogmatic literature is a system, and the actual texts are again systems and subdivisions of the layer taken as a whole. Most important are however smaller units within the text which correspond to the last member(s) of the sequence given at the end of § 285. Thus we get in Upaniṣadic literature "sequential statements" where each statement follows the same pattern and where the individual concepts (gods, various entities) only serve to *fill the pattern* in the case of each statement. This pattern can be studied (along with other, similar patterns) in connection with the category "form-principles". But that is not relevant in the present context. Important is the fact that each reference to a particular concept must be studied *in its context*, i.e. in connection with the "systems" (down to the smallest units) to which it belongs. There are many reasons for this but we only want to stress one single point: It is essential to know whether a particular concept appears as an item in its own right or whether it just serves to fill a pattern. See also § 323.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

ATTRIBUTES

§ 292. The terms "type" and "system" were of a very general nature, the term "attribute" is very specific. Attributes are features by which certain gods etc are recognized. For the present purpose attributes are interesting as far as they are represented in art. Features described in literature but not represented in art can be left to one side. The outward features of spiritual and royal personages (sādhus, kings etc.) are also not under consideration unless they have found their way into art.

For most people it is difficult to imagine an Indian god without a host of attributes. It must however be borne in mind that the emphasis on attributes is not equally strong in all spheres of Indian art. In South Indian bronze sculpture certain deities are only lightly characterized. The same is normally true of gods appearing in narrative panels But as a rule the Indian artists were lavish in their use of attributes. — The original connection between the figure and the attribute is often obscure, and often the attributes were distributed in a purely mechanical way. This results in a curious situation. Attributes (in the narrowest sense), e g. implements, flowers etc., largely make up the substance of the motif-cosmos At the same time an inner connection of the attributes with each other and with the god (i e with the god as described in the mythological texts) often does not reveal itself. We are dealing with a pantheon where the construction of the figures is to a large extent random

§ 293. The question arises as to which elements of a composition merit the term "attribute" We call "attributes" such elements as are found only with a number of gods but not with all gods. Taking into consideration that even widespread elements like regal attire are not found in the case of every god, we can call practically every element an "attribute" In short, a crown is an attribute because it is not admitted for Śiva (and a number of other gods)

That an element is an "attribute" in the general sense is however not of much import. We rather want to know whether the element concerned distinguishes a given type A from a given type B. In other words we want to know whether an element is an attribute (i.e an identifying element) *in a specific case*. Take as an example the ācārya of Fig 210. The figure has a parasol with a single top and held in a slanting position. The ācārya has however not been provided with a *triple parasol* or with a halo. A comparison shows that other Deogarh ācāryas are in fact provided with a halo but that the triple parasol is invariably missing It would then appear that in ācārya-images the triple parsaol was replaced by the parasol described above because it was incompatible with the ācārya-iconography, while the omission of the halo had no specific reason. Put yet another way: The study of the context shows that in contrast to the halo the triple parasol of the Jina was not admitted for the ācārya. This implies that the triple parasol is not restricted to a vaguely defined group of mutually related types (Jina, ācārya, Buddha etc.) but that it is restricted to one out of several similar types — to the Jina. It would therefore not be correct to say that the *number* of attributes in Indian iconography is greater than usually admitted We should rather say that their *differentiation* or *identification-value* is greater than normally assumed. Nobody has seriously doubted that all elements (except of course individual ornaments and details of the dress) are attributes. The extent to which the use of these attributes was *restricted* has however not been fully realized.

The question must also be considered how far different representations of the same object can be called different *attributes*. The triple parasol may be decorated in one way or in a completely different way, or it may not be decorated at all. In all three cases we are dealing with one and the same attribute — not on account of a vague feeling that decorative elements do not matter but because the employment is the same throughout. Were the decorated parasol reserved for Jinas (so that for ācāryas only a plain parasol would be admitted) then the presence or absence of decorative elements would in fact create, in this case, two different attributes (plain parasol — decorated parasol). But the ācāryas do not have the triple parasol at all nor is there to our knowledge any other instance where the absence and presence of decorative elements in a particular object has split this element into two different attributes. Decorative elements must however not be confused with ornaments. On the whole, ornaments have little or no identification-value, but a few ornaments like the mukuṭa are fully fledged attributes.

Although absence and presence and type of decoration cannot split an attribute, we often find that other differences in the rendering do. There are three different parasol-attributes: parasol with single top and held in a slanting position (ācārya: Fig. 210 left), triple horizontal parasol-top without stick (Jina: Fig. 210 right); and finally the triple horizontal parasol-top which is supplemented by the stick (only lower part visible). The last form is found occasionally in Pārśva-images (Figs. 335, 38).

The use of the term "attribute" is concomitant with the use of the terms "iconoplastic art" and "iconography in its narrowest sense". Iconoplastic art includes all the representations where attributes play a prominent part Narrative panels where each element is related to the situation depicted do not belong to iconoplastic art. The same is true of figures which have no individual names (celestial damsels etc.). Similarly we can describe "iconography in its narrow est sense" as the study of attributes, i.e. of attributes as such. Iconography in its *widest* sense concerns itself with the elements irrespective of their function as attributes. Refer also to §§ 298A (iconography in its narrowest and in its widest sense) and 315 (iconography in its widest sense and style).

§ 294. We shall now discuss the individual categories (§ 294: purely formal categories; §§ 295-96: others). The identification-value has already been referred to. This value is limited where an attribute only serves to distinguish one section of gods from another. Thus the crown distinguishes Indra, Visnu, Sūrya (and a few others) from all the rest. The identification-value is *minimal* where an attribute is found with almost all gods or — more technically speaking — where the cases of incompatibility are minimal. The highest identification-value is found in those cases where an attribute is admitted only for a single god. Thus the mountain (mountain Govardhana) is only possible as an attribute of Kṛṣna (Kṛṣna Govardhanadhara). It is incompatible with all the other gods.

The identification-value depends on the character of the attribute, on the system where it occurs, and on the iconography of the type to which it belongs. Some attributes are frequent everywhere and some are rare throughout. Thus the mountain *always* distinguishes Kṛṣṇa Govardhanadhara. A fragment consisting only of this attribute and not assignable to any period and locality could nevertheless be related to an image of this god Other attributes like the halo and the feet-lotus are everywhere found with more than one type.

The identification-value need however not be uniform in all periods and provinces. It is quite conceivable that the halo is admitted in one system for a greater number of deities than in

another. It is also possible that certain types disappear, so that the identification-value of the attributes found with them increases. Thus the identification-value of the throne increased in Central India as soon as the Buddha was no longer represented.

The identification-value is also affected if the use of a particular element becomes fashionable within a group of similar gods. The hand-attribute "disk" has a very low identification-value within the category of many-armed medieval deities. Outside this category its identification-value is considerable.

The last observation already touched upon the "degree of differentiation". Two gods may differ radically, e.g. the Jina and Sūrya. In other cases the difference is less; this is true of figures within a series (Jinas, Aṣṭamātṛkās, Navagrahas etc.) and of mutually related types (Viṣṇu and Cakreśvarī, Jina and Buddha)

If we discuss an attribute with reference to a type for which it is admitted, we also observe differences in its *frequency*. Both the double-leaf and the double-rosette are attributes of the Jina; but the latter is restricted to a limited number of Jina-images, whereas the double-leaf is found quite frequently. Needless to say that the frequency differs from case to case. West Indian bronze Jinas show the double-rosette quite often whereas this attribute is almost unknown in the Jina-iconography of the other parts of the country (one example at Deogarh: Fig. 8). A basic or compulsory attribute is the standing posture of Bāhubalin

The individual attributes can be employed in more than one form (differences in the function). The cakra for example has the following functions: hand-attribute, head-attribute (*on* the head[1]), bhāmandala (*behind* the head), dharmacakra on the pedestal, foot-mark (on the soles[2]), crowning element on pillars[3]), sub-unit of symbols (so-called "triratna" etc.), detached attribute (hovering or lying on the ground[4]). In early Indian art the cakra is almost always a "contribute" (§ 297).

In Christian iconography some emphasis is placed on the difference between *Gattungsattribut* (an attribute shared by all members of a category) and *Individualattribut* (an attribute restricted to one single saint etc.). This distinction can theoretically also be introduced in Indian art. There are however two difficulties. Firstly we observe that attributes common to all members of a 'category' are normally not *restricted* to this group (curls of the Jinas). If we leave this objection on one side, we have still to admit that common attributes are not so much the result of an attempt at systematizing the material but the result of simple multiplication The Jinas are a case in point. — At this stage we have to define the term category as it was used in this paragraph. Members of a category are occasionally (24 Jinas) or invariably (Navagrahas) represented *in toto*. Variation is restricted, in the case of a category, to one point (or perhaps to two points) of the figure — e g to the cihnas in the case of the Jinas. Such categories are however comparatively rare in Indian art.

The representation of the gods is subject to certain rules. The number of arms must be the same on both sides: the anatomy is symmetrical. If one such rule is not observed we are dealing with a particular type of deviation (different from deviations concerning the selection of the attributes and affecting the identity of the figures). Thus the drum of the Jina must be represented *above* the parasol (Fig. 36). But in one single case it appears *below* the parasol (Fig. 37). Again the two cāmara-bearers of the Jina should be provided with identical attributes

[1] KRAMRISCH, *Art*, 52 (second figure from the right) Cakrapuruṣa
[2] ZIMMER, 556: Buddha.
[3] ZIMMER, 96.
[4] COUSENS, *Chālukyan Architecture*, Pl. 17 Viṣṇu on Ananta.

(Fig. 83 right etc., compare also § 321), but in one case the treatment is different (Fig. 78). Needless to say that here as in the case of other deviations the mistake of today may become the rule of tomorrow. Originally the double-leaf was represented above the parasol, but the artists of the New Class (partly) and of the Geometrical Class broke with this tradition and represented the double-leaf *below* the parasol (Fig. 263).

In the case of categories represented *in toto* we expect uniformity in the sense that attributes common to all members of the category are shown invariably or nowhere. But, at Deogarh at least, such a convention is not in evidence. The miniature-Jinas appearing on one and the same image do not match one another (Figs. 27 and 199) nor do they match the main-Jina (case of Fig. 199). In the medieval period differences between the miniature-Jinas and the main-Jina were almost the rule. E g. compare Fig. 231 right: The lower standing Jina shows strands instead of curls (see § 261). Whenever identical types occurring in the same composition are not represented in a uniform manner we use the term "pseudo-differentiation in rows" (a row consisting of a category represented *in toto* or in part).

§ 295. The categories to be dealt with in this paragraph have a bearing on the content of the representation. To start with, the various attributes have a different relation to the main-figure. There are anatomical attributes (one head, three heads etc.), applied attributes (chest-marks, palm-marks etc.), body-posture attributes (raised leg [of Viṣṇu Trivikrama] etc.), hand-posture attributes (abhaya etc.), hand-attributes (disk), support-attributes (feet-lotus, seat-lotus, vāhanas etc.), attire-attributes (dress, head-dress, ornaments), background attributes (halo, hood-cricle etc.) This list does of course not include attributes which are not in contact with the main-figure (attendants etc).

The basic apparel of the human figures is either that of a king or that of a monk. In the latter case we are dealing with widely differing sub-types: "ṛṣi" (Brahmā), "saṃnyāsin" (Śiva), "bhikkhu" (Buddha). In some cases there was also an influence in the reverse direction. Thus the triśūla or trident (originally no doubt a mythological weapon) became a common attribute of Śaiva monks. The term "basic apparel" is no doubt historical. Moreover it does not just refer to the original form of a god but to the main source of his iconography. — Unfortunately we do not know the exact cultural background of the various attributes. We do not know which orders of monks had curly hair (like the Buddha and the Jina), which had beards (like Brahmā) and so on.

§ 296. The categories to be discussed in this paragraph concern either the history of the forms or their recognition. In the first case we are concerned with the processes which lead to the creation of new types. New types result from a change of sex (Viṣṇu: Cakreśvarī), by a change of the sectarian "label" (a goddess becomes Jain if a miniature-Jina is represented above her head), by combination of existing types (Hari-Hara etc.), "adulteration" of the iconography (Viṣṇu carrying commonplace attributes like lemons), hypertrophy of attributes (many-armed medieval goddesses).

Recognition is a category which concerns the whole as well as its parts. For one reason or the other it may become difficult to distinguish the various attributes (*Distinction*, Figs. 17-26, 52, 71-73; our Figs. 366-71). Again elements are sometimes overlooked on account of their small size (*Distinction*, Fig. 33; our Figs. 374, 375, 378). Most of the Bharata-and Bāhubalin-images at Deogarh can hardly be distinguished from Jina-images because the differentiating attributes are so inconspicuous (Fig. 206 right). — In the case of a series the members are

often not sufficiently distinguished from non-members (*Distinction*, Fig. 51). Also the "variables" of a category (p. 244) are not always clearly separated from the "non-variables" (non-attributes *and* attributes which are permitted for all members of the category). Thus the centre of the throne-blanket is sometimes occupied by the cihna (variable) and sometimes by a kīrtimukha (non-variable). Conversely the cihna may appear at various places and may be represented in more than one way. A case in point: the cihnas of the High-Relief Style (Fig. 144: elephant; 146: deer; 217: bull; 219: indistinct). Under the circumstances, variables may not always be clearly recognized as such, and non-variables may be erroneously taken for variables. Thus it may appear at first sight that the throne-motifs of Fig. 243 include a variable, viz. the cihna. Actually the various figures represented on the throne of that image have nothing to do with the individuality of the relevant Jina (Pārśva), they are "non-variables".

§ 297[1]. It can be asked whether Śiva's consort Pārvatī (appearing by his side) is an "attribute" of the god. The expression is of course not very convincing in this context. The case pinpoints a more general problem. We shall therefore use, in this connection, the term "contribute" (which is coined simply with regard for the opposition between Latin "*ad-*" and "*con-*"). We call iconographic elements "contributes" when they have the same size and are directly connected. Emphasis on "equal size" would not be sufficient by itself, as in that case the various hand-attributes would be *contributes* when related to one another. Emphasis on "direct connection" would also not suffice as in that case main-figure and hand-attributes etc. would be contributes.

By establishing the contribute-contribute relationship in analogy to the attribute-figure relationship it becomes possible to cover a number of peripheral cases by the normal iconographic method. We can say that Bharata and Bāhubalin as well as Pārśva and Supārśva (Fig 207 left and right) are *contributes* in relation to one another just as the double-leaf is an *attribute* in relation to the Jina. We can also say that Ambikā has the contributes (i) partner, (ii) yakṣa/yakṣī in their widest sense, and (iii) Gomeda (§ 14)

The practical value of the term "contribute" is however most conspicuous where iconography is not centred around figures. This is normally the case in early Indian art The method to be applied here can be brought into agreement with the normal iconographic method in two ways. In the first place we can establish an analogy between the stūpa-*motif* (exceedingly common at Amaravati etc.) and the main-figure of the ordinary image We have then to call the remaining elements of the composition with the stūpa in their centre *attributes*: The parasols are attributes of the stūpa just as the triple parasol is an attribute of the Jina. But if the composition is centred neither around a stūpa nor around a figure we have to establish pairs or chains of contributes:

[1] [Added after completion of the manuscript] The dual concept of attributes and contributes as proposed in § 297 can be extended to a set of four different categories attribute (e g Viṣnu's cakra), contribute (cakra on lions. lion-capitals), "symbol" (cakra alone. ZIMMER, 556), decorative element (cakra as part of the head-dress: BARRETT, *Amaravati*, Pl 19) It is therefore necessary to describe each element on the basis of these four categories, giving for each category all the possible combinations (i e all the gods holding a cakra in the case of the category "attribute") From such an enquiry certain types may emerge, e.g the type common to Viṣnu and Vaiṣṇavī or the type of the pillar with lions and cakra on top In some cases it will even be found that the element under consideration plays a special part in the iconography of certain periods. This is true for example of the cakra in the early period — This foot-note was added following a discussion on aquatic motifs with H. von Stietencron.

Tree — Throne/Altar
Wheel — Animal Capital — Shaft of the Pillar
Bull — Horse — Lion — Elephant

Even the problem of the symbolical representations of the Buddha can be reduced to an enquiry into contributes. Gajalakṣmī and/or lotus can only be regarded as symbolical representations of the Buddha (more precisely of his birth) if it can be established that they are contributes of (i.e. frequently combined with) stūpa, tree, and wheel, i.e. of the undisputed symbols (direct evidence for the connection between the two motifs and the Buddha is not available).

Whereas attributes and figure always belong to the same composition[1] this is not necessarily the case with contributes. They may be distributed to corresponding points of an architectural scheme (as is often the case with bull-horse-lion-elephant).

§ 298. The attributes belong to the various *gods*. The expression "god" is however not quite satisfactory in so far as "preceptors" like the Buddha and the Jina are also provided with attributes. It can be used if Jinas, Buddhas etc. are not expressly mentioned in the relevant context. Otherwise one has to say "gods *etc.*" (§ 14) unless terms like "person" or "type" are preferred.

The "gods etc " are the gods known from literature. In art we are actually only dealing with attributes, and a distinction between the god and his attributes is not possible. The gods of art are *composed* of attributes, they do not have a separate existence It is therefore theoretically possible to abandon the distinction between "god" and "attribute" as far as art is concerned and to consider only the various combinations of features (which no longer merit the term "attribute"). Such a procedure is difficult however, and we have to retain the distinction between "gods" and "attributes" taking the gods as the gods known from literature.

One may object that unidentified gods as they exist in comparatively large numbers, are not covered by this approach. However unidentified gods can normally be treated as varieties of the gods known from the texts. The difference is not all that great. We shall never come across a two-armed figure carrying vīnā and triśūla (trident) and standing on a tortoise This fictitious and negative example shows that it is in the present connection not difficult to bridge the gulf between art and literature.

§ 298 A. Before concluding this chapter we have to mention a problem which is connected both with § 293 (differentiation-value) and with § 298 (textual and formal definition of the "gods"). The question arises as to whether we must split the normal gods into purely formal varieties which have "different attributes".

For the four-armed Vāmana the mukuta is admitted, but not for the two-armed Vāmana[2]. The texts devote scant attention to the four-armed Vāmana concerning themselves mainly with the two-armed variety (represented e.g. in the Rājīvalocana-temple at Rajim). Taking therefore the monuments as the basis we could say that the mukuṭa is an attribute which dis-

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[1] I do not think that there is sufficient evidence to prove that a Garuḍa on the door-lintel is anywhere a characteristic of Viṣṇu-temples. This would have been the only possible exception to the above rule (unless we regard Viṣṇu and Garuḍa also as contributes).

[2] M -T DE MALLMANN, *Les Enseignements Iconographiques de l'Agnipurana*, Paris 1963, pp 32-35

tinguishes the *Vāmana Caturbhuja*[1] (four-armed Vāmana) from the *Vāmana Dvibhuja* (two-armed Vāmana) — just as the figure with the lower parasol-stick distinguishes *Pārśva* from a *non-Pārśva*. — In the medieval period the seated Jina-images at Deogarh have been provided with throne-legs whereas throne-legs are missing in the case of the standing specimens. In other words, the throne-leg is an attribute which distinguishes the *Jina Āsanastha* (seated Jina) from the *Jina Sthita* (standing Jina). Again the strands distinguish in the medieval period the *Jina Kṣudrākāra* (miniature-Jina) from the *Jina Bṛhadākāra* (large Jina, in our nomenclature simply "Jina"). We can also say that the attribute "standing posture" distinguishes the Jinas of the *Sthūla Varga* (Uncouth Class) from the Jinas of the *Makarādyalaṃkṛta Varga* (Throne-Frame Class).

The border between iconography in its narrowest sense and iconography in its widest sense becomes of course blurred if the above approach is adopted. Not only does the identification-value of the attributes increase, we also get new attributes like the throne-legs. This latter case is an obvious encroachment of iconography in its narrowest sense on iconography in its widest sense.

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[1] All the italicized designations were coined by the author.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

FORM-PRINCIPLES

§ 299. Before going into details we supply a list of the relevant categories.

1 NON-HISTORICAL METHODS
2 FORMAL FORM-PRINCIPLES
3 Creative form-principles (I), §§ 300/301
4 General principles*
5 Individual developments
6 Creative form-principles (II), §§ 300/302
7 Form-principles relative to single elements*
8 Form-principles relative to the composition
9 Creative form -principles (III), §§ 300/302
10 Mechanical form-principles*
11 Non-mechanical form-principles
12 Creative form-principles (IV), §§ 300/302
13 Iconographic form-principles*
14 Stylistic form-principles
15 *Non*-creative form-principles, § 303
16 A/B-Relation
17 +/— -Relation
18 Form-Relation
19 MATERIAL FORM-PRINCIPLES, § 305
20 HISTORICAL METHODS (selective)
21 NON-HISTORICAL METHODS, §§ 306-08
22 Repetition
23 Diversity
24 HISTORICAL METHODS, §§ 309-310
25 Assimilation in its widest sense
26 Variation in its widest sense
27 Assemblage

As in the case of Fig. 389 A we have marked parallel divisions by Roman numbers. Characteristics marked with an asterisk (4, 7, 10, 13) constitute "form-principles in their narrowest sense", i.e. form-principles which are under special consideration in the present chapter. Under point 20, the categories 16-18 are split up according to various principles (historical and otherwise). See §§ 306 foll.

§ 300. Nowhere has systematic investigation proved so necessary from the outset as in the case of the form-principles, and nowhere has it proved so difficult as here. Having drawn up the tables given in the previous paragraph we start our investigation at that point where even the more casual observer becomes conscious of the problems involved.

If we examine forms like those reproduced in *Distinction*, Figs. 77-79 (transformation of the top of trident, spear and conch into vegetable forms) the idea immediately springs to mind that certain very definite form-principles (points 4, 7, 10, 13) must play a considerable part in Indian art. On further investigation however it will be realized that the *influence* of individual form-principles of this type is limited and that the *number* of different form-principles of this type is not all that great either.

Transformation into vegetable forms in one way or the other also takes place elsewhere, but this is rare, and invariably linked to specific motifs. The effect of this form-principle is seen predominantly with regard to implements and weapons. In no case are *human* forms transformed into vegetable ones The rare instances that do occur are purely decorative and this is a field which need not concern us here. Transformation into plants other than for decorative purposes only takes place in the case of animals, and this only occasionally (the main example being the makara, the mount of the river-goddess Gaṅgā).

Another form-principle of the same type is the tendency to fuse two objects into one (*Distinction*, Fig. 67: noose and goad; Fig. 68: trident and axe). The same procedure is employed in the case of gods. Thus one half of Śiva is combined with one half of Visnu (Hari-Hara). In this case (and in the case of Ardhanārīśvara = Śiva-Pārvatī) the dividing line is the vertical axis. But as far as gods are concerned the procedure is only adopted in the two cases mentioned, and even combination of different objects is not very common.

Not much imagination is required to visualize what Indian art would be like if this type of form-principles played a significant part. Indian art would be a maze without parallel. But in contrast to the West, India has never produced artists who have made a dogma of such form-principles and who have distorted the natural forms regularly. In spite of the often criticized excesses in the multiplication of limbs, India has never produced artists of the type of Hieronymus Bosch.

As a consequence, form-principles of the type under discussion play a much smaller role in Indian art than in Indian literature. Literary form-principles[1] are not linked up with specific motifs but may be employed without restriction. Sequences or pairs of synonyms (a form-principle) can be employed both for the description of a palace and for the description of a human being. Only purely technical literature (śāstras) would normally exclude such methods. There is also no limit to the degree of elaboration. Ample evidence for this is found in books on poetry (extreme examples of the yamaka etc.). Indian literature does in fact not shrink from overstepping — both in form and content – the limits of normal convention

More widespread than the two form-principles mentioned above is the blurring of the specific characteristics of *hair*, *dress* and *ornaments* in the representation of human figures. This is still an instance of "form-principles in their narrowest sense" (4, 7, 10, 13), although the points 8, 11, 14 are also partly covered It could be expected that the artists would employ the method of contrast when representing hair, dress and ornaments. This is however not the case and even the representation of minor anatomical features (nipples, śrīvatsa etc.) follows the trend observed in the rendering of the other three items. In one instance modelling is soft throughout and in another instance everything is rendered with metallic precision. Again

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[1] The term "literary form-principles" only refers to such factors as produce a palpable deformation of normal language Again we are not referring to exact "parallels" to individual artistic form-principles but to the whole range of literary phenomena which corresponds *in toto* to our "form-principles in their narrowest sense"

all the elements *on* the body may be shown in low relief (including incision); in other pieces they may be extremely prolific. In the latter case there is normally a concentration in certain zones, and this results in an interlacing of heterogeneous elements (not to be confused with the homogeneous modelling). The most blatant example of this is the head of the so-called Trimūrti on Elephanta.

§ 301. As has already been stated, the number of form-principles in their narrowest sense is limited. There are however distortions which are similar to those discussed but which represent individual developments (point 5: alternative I). A case in point is the deformation of the fingers in Fig 78 and the treatment of the strands in Fig. 349 The total number of such cases is also limited but they (i.e. the cases under points 5, 7, 10, 13) augment at all events the number of cases under points 4, 7, 10, 13.

Each deformation may become a new formula but a formula is not necessarily the result of a deformation. Thus we have two different dharmacakra-formulas where the only difference is that the wheel is shown face-on in one case and edge-on in the other. It is only in the case of the dharmacakra-*ribbons* that a deformation may become apparent: the angular treatment on the one hand and the employment of an upper pair of ribbons (Fig. 140) on the other.

In § 275 reference was made to elements created by the artists. This creation may, but need not, take the form of a deformation "Cakra face-on" and "cakra edge-on" are in fact different entities in the cosmos of art and as such they are created by the artists. But this specific character results from the *employment* and not from the form of the two formulas. The rendering may be more or less realistic in both cases, but the employment of either formula depends on artistic conventions and not on the character of the "scene" depicted.

§ 302. The three remaining alternatives II-IV can be dealt with speedily. Form-principles concerning the whole composition (point 8: alternative II) are verticality, horizontality etc Similarly the principle of having standard-patterns of composition (where the individual sub-motif can be replaced by other sub-motifs) comes under point 8.

A distinction between "mechanical" and "non-mechanical" (points 10 - 11: alternative III) is necessary even though it is difficult to establish a clear-cut line of demarcation. The more mechanical a form-principle is, the more easily is it to be recognized — and the observer is more easily provoked to pay attention to the phenomenon. It would appear that the expression "mechanical" covers rather different processes: repetition of a motif (Fig. 224: "double"-leaf), repetition of a pattern for different motifs (Fig. 183: cushion, snake-coils, seat-lotus); repetition of a pattern for different units of one and the same motif (lateral snake-coils of Pārśva — compare the mechanical rendering in Fig. 100 with the realistic rendering in Fig. 335), inorganic connection of elements (Fig. 258: anatomy) etc. The mechanical character follows in all these cases from the examination of one single image. The mechanical character which is inherent in the process of copying (apparent only on comparison of two or more pieces) is not under consideration. Nor can we mention in this context the widespread employment of a particular well-defined form-principle (e.g. partial transformation into vegetable forms as mentioned above). — The transformation of the Resting Class into the Hovering Class shows clearly the effect of non-mechanical form-principles (This is however not to say that stylistic transformations are by their very nature non-mechanical.) A positive definition of "non-mechanical" cannot be given. The definition — like the term itself —

must remain negative. We call "non-mechanical" whatever is not mechanical in the sense indicated above.

That form-principles are relevant to both, style and iconography (points 13 - 14: alternative IV), is already apparent from the examples given. Thus the various types of repetition are partly iconographic phenomena (multiplication of limbs) and partly stylistic phenomena (repetition of minute decorative motifs [§ 196] and of form-elements [Fig. 183 mentioned above])[1].

§ 303. In the course of our investigation we had to refer constantly to what we call in this chapter "non-creative" form-principles (point 15). Here the single motif is left intact and only the compositions in their entirety are affected. These non-creative form-principles represent the various possibilities of creating new images by constantly varying combinations of the existing forms. Here the demonstration of the phenomenon is not based on the analysis of a single image but on the comparison of two or more images. Logically speaking there are three (or four) types of non-creative form-principles and these types can be differentiated by the symbols (words) "A/B", "+/—", and "form". Each type has different facets, and this fact has been taken into consideration in our nomenclature (§ 306-310). In the present context however we use the most neutral nomenclature possible, combining the three (four) logical designations with the word "relation". We compare Fig. 140 with Fig. 141:

A/B -Relation : Lion (141) instead of elephant (140)
+/— -Relation : Standing figures flanking the throne (*only in* 141 *and not in* 140).
+/— -Relation : Lotus-lids covering the ends of the throne-bar (*only in* 140 *and not in* 141).
Form-Relation : Differing rendering of the cushion-lotus.

Fig. 141 shows the richer image, and therefore plus-relations (i e. *plus* relations from the point of view of 141 and *minus*-relations from the point of view of 140) can be more easily demonstrated than minus-relations. But the lotus-lid occurring in Fig. 140 (and not in Fig. 141) is in spite of its small size a valid example of a minus-relation.

§ 304. For the historical treatment of the non-creative form-principles the reader is referred to §§ 306-310. In the *present* paragraph we have to study the place which the non-creative form-principles occupy in Indian culture in general. In this connection we have to introduce a term which covers in the first place the non-creative form-principles (point 15) but which can also be used for 'mechanical form-principles' (point 10)[2]: *partial differentiation.* Partial differentiation (in the first sense) means that a particular image (text-portion etc) is neither original in the strict sense of the word nor a mere copy. It is a copy which *partly differs* from the original Or to be more correct it is a copy where the difference from the original is really *partial* i.e neither very great nor very slight. In addition to this there must be a clear-cut dividing-line between changed and unchanged zones. Figs. 140-41 (previous paragraph) supply a classic example of partial differentiation in the sense of point 15. — P.d. in the second sense (point

[1] We admit that the concept of "repetition" as used in § 302 is very abstract. "Repetition" is a convenient term in the present context but has no pretence of methodological exactitude (and should not be confused with point 22).

[2] We do not think that the combination of these two different sets of form-principles is carrying things too far On the one hand all the phenomena are related, on the other hand the term as such does not claim to designate a particularly uniform phenomenon.

10) is "creative" according to our scheme, not however "creative" in the narrowest sense but merely in contrast to the hundred percent non-creative form-principles of point 15. The word "partial" must here — point 10 — be taken in a logical sense. Thus the single leaves of the multiplied double-leaf of Fig. 224 are conventional and not differentiated from the standard type. It is only the multiplication that marks the departure from the standard type. The form remained and only the number was changed. We admit that in a way the series of leaves is a motif *sui generis* and really different from the single leaf. But the case cannot be viewed in isolation. Procedures of this type (multiplication etc) are so frequent, that one feels inclined to regard them as typical and to connect them with the cases of point 15.

Every "type" can be called the result of partial differentiation and every "form-principle" can be called an instrument of partial differentiation We would however prefer to use the three terms independently (see also § 316 for "isolated" treatment). We use partial differentiation only in the sense given above, whereas "types" and "form-principles" (other than those coming under points 10 and 15) may be instances of partial differentiation in a wider sense which does not concern us here Two bracket-figures may e.g. follow the same type without supplying an example of partial differentiation in its narrowest sense. It is possible that they are sufficiently differentiated in spite of the similarity of type. One may also argue that in a case like this repetition is an inherent element of the architectural scheme and that the repetition of figures is just as natural as the repetition of purely architectural features.

It cannot be denied that the extent to which partial differentiation is apparent in a particular period or area is partly due to empirical factors Thus in India innumerable images in wood, clay etc. have been lost. Therefore periods where such materials prevailed offer little material for the study of partial differentiation whereas the medieval period with its mass production of *stone* images demonstrates the phenomenon in a very pronounced manner. Furthermore the output of literary *and* artistic works is dependent both on the availability of poets, scholars, artists and on the attitude of the contemporary patrons and donors. But in spite of all that has been said it is impossible to explain the frequency of partial differentiation in Indian culture simply by an accidental accumulation of such empirical factors.

We do however not insist that partial differentiation is *much* more in evidence in India than it is elsewhere. Suffice it to say that it is there and that the method of describing art and literature has to be tailored to this particular phenomenon. Here we do not only plead for a *study* of partial differentiation. We rather feel that in all fields of Indian culture which are affected by partial differentiation a certain priority must be given to categories which enable us to "deal" with a material bearing the impact of partial differentiation. Thus categories like "type" (in iconography) and "repetition" (in literature) can help us to eliminate the effects of partial differentiation and to discover the original substance under the veil of its innumerable derivations. See also the more general remarks in § 329 below.

Although he never stressed the general importance of his method, it was Willibald Kirfel who made the first systematic attempt to tackle the main problem created by partial differentiation, i.e. the problem of reducing a highly inflated material to its proper substance. He collated identical or almost identical passages from the Purānas thereby reducing the textual material considerably. The classification of the Deogarh images is actually analogous to Kirfel's comparative method (*Aufeinanderdecken* of different texts). The establishment of the class-features corresponds to the text above the line (text common to the majority of versions); the description of individual features (i.e. of features peculiar to lesser units down to single images) corresponds to the listing of variants below the line (i.e. of readings restricted to a

few versions or to a single version). In both cases the material was "inflated" to such an extent that elimination of the repetitions became imperative.

The Jina-images had been differentiated by the change of individual formulas etc. The Puranic texts had been differentiated by the change of individual words, pādas, and verses. It may be contended that the textual changes occurred unintentionally in the course of the *transmission* of the material, whereas the artistic changes were a device to create something new. This distinction is however too abstract. It would be better to say that in both cases the partial changes were the normal accompaniment of processes which fall midway between creation and reproduction. Besides, the existence of so many Purānas which are partially identical can only be explained by deliberate changes in the arrangement and selection of the material.

Partial differentiation (both in art and in literature) can also be described in linguistic terms. As we have seen, partial differentiation involves a repetition of the "prototype" by the "type". Then the question arises whether the *de facto* opposition between type and prototype corresponds to an opposition in *substance*. In other words we want to know whether a formal opposition between two pieces of art involves a difference in the artistic conception or in the meaning. Similarly we want to know whether different expressions or statements in literature involve a difference pertinent to style or meaning. —

It would appear that the procedure adopted in the present enquiry is to some extent symmetrical. On the one hand we have *reduced* the "inflated" material On the other hand we have discovered the principles which govern this inflation, watching as it were the *growth* of the material. This is correct, but not in the sense that a catalogue of form-principles (points 4, 7, 10, 13) could be supplied. The mere discussion of the form-principles is one thing and a systematic essay another. Moreover, our emphasis is mainly on the non-creative form-principles (points 16-18) which are more general than the numerous creative form-principles. — If we adopt the alternatives of our scheme for point 15, then we can say that points 16-18 come mainly under points 4, 7 and 10. The last alternative (IV) is not relevant in this context

§ 305. An amalgam of two gods owes its existence either to the fancy of the artists or to syncretistic tendencies in the contemporary religion. In the latter case we are dealing with a material form-principle (point 19). Formal form-principles may or may not affect the contents of the representation (point 13 *versus* point 14) — they are at any rate not motivated by non-formal factors, as is the case with the *material* form-principles. Point 19 is of limited importance however. Material considerations are not always the dominant factor, and where they are of some consequence they do not necessarily have the character of form-principles.

In § 296 cases are mentioned where the identification of the figures becomes difficult. In this connection it is no doubt tempting to establish form-principles which affect the recognition of the figures or even of individual elements. This was the basic idea of the author's article on "distinction". The lesser (or higher) degree of recognizability is of course linked up with specific form-principles, e.g. with *reduction* in its various forms. The reduced (or increased) degree of recognizability is however only a side-effect of those form-principles, it is never an end in itself. All that can be observed is a certain "couldn't-care-less" attitude with regard to recognizability. See also § 314.

§ 305 A. Different systems may show different form-principles. Thus repetition (either of whole figures or of single attributes) may play a more important part among the wall-figures

of one temple than among the wall-figures of another. The differences are however not very appreciable as far as systems of a lower order are concerned. They are also less tangible in art than in literature. The situation changes if we compare for example Buddhist literature and Jain literature. The form-principles of either, Buddhist literature or Jain literature, will no doubt emerge from a careful *study* of both. On the other hand, the entirely different structure of the two literatures is *in itself* sufficient to indicate the predominance of entirely different form-principles in the two fields. Again the structural difference between Sanskrit lexicography and say Latin lexicography shows that the development of Sanskrit lexicography was governed by form-principles peculiar to it. Thus structural differences are always in themselves sufficient to show at a glance that enquiries into form-principles are both rewarding and necessary.

§ 306. After having presented the non-creative form-principles of § 303 in a non-historical manner we will now adopt a 'historical' approach[1]. Here the scheme of § 303 is developed according to various criteria (see the schemes in §§ 308 and 310). The varying degrees of comprehension of the relevant process are criteria for the classification. The employment of these criteria reflects our desire to develop general categories for such cases where specific information cannot be given.

Suppose the wall-figures (gods) of a particular temple show more instances of similarity than could normally be expected. Here one might be tempted to employ right from the beginning of the investigation categories like assimilation, contamination etc. assuming that the relevant transformations were in all cases the work of the artists. However such a specific assertion is often not possible. We have to take very many possibilities into consideration. On the one hand there are further categories like multiplication and sibling-relationship (§ 311), on the other we have in most cases to decide whether similarity is in keeping with the tradition or an innovation introduced by the respective artist If it is not possible to confirm one of the several possibilities we just use the term repetition. This term can even be used for cases where different motifs show a similar form (see § 279 on "form-type"). Here repetition does not take the form of *motif-identity* but the form of *form-similarity*. Motif-identity normally implies form-similarity and *vice versa*. But the two categories are not concomitant. As we have seen above there are also cases of mere form-similarity. Needless to add that there are likewise cases where a motif is repeated — but not in identical form.

Diversity is the opposite of repetition, but here one more sub-category has to be taken into consideration. It is possible that a figure A has been provided with a particular element which is lacking in a closely related figure B, or *vice versa*. This case is called +/— difference. What has been said about the three sub-categories of repetition applies *mutatis mutandis* to diversity (compare 34-36 with 30-32). The difference between sub-categories 31 and 36 as well as between 32 and 35 is a difference in emphasis (§ 308)

The term repetition is in the first place relevant to series whereas *diversity* can in this case be taken for granted. Conversely diversity is mainly relevant to units (§ 333) whereas in this case *repetition* can be taken for granted. At the same time it goes without saying that the members of a series are to some extent homogeneous and that the members of a unit are to some extent heterogeneous. Therefore diversity can also be observed in a series. An example is the deliber-

[1] For the twofold employment of the terms "historical" and "non-historical" refer to the next paragraph. For the use of the term "non-creative" refer to § 309 (foot-note). — "Contamination in its descriptive sense" (§ 98) can be called a sub-category of "diversity".

ate *variation of the form* of a motif which occurs repeatedly within a series (point 36[1]). Similarly repetition is not altogether absent in units. Different motifs (appearing at corresponding places of the compositions) may be *similar in their form* (point 32[2]).

§ 307. Our categories are relative to the general conventions of Indian iconography. If a series consists of two-armed and four-armed figures it is not necessary to employ the category "diversity". A series consisting merely of two-armed figures can however already be quoted as an instance of "repetition", at least in a period and province where many-armed gods are found in great number. Similarly the constant employment in a series of an attribute which is otherwise not very common (e.g. of a lemon) can be taken as repetition. — The term "diversity" is only appropriate if different *formulas* are under consideration. This follows already from the fact that we are dealing mainly with categories under points 4, 7, 10, 13-14 (§ 304 end). So that no misunderstanding should occur let it nevertheless be said that free artistic variation of a given motif (folds of the garment, ornamentation etc.) never merits the term diversity. — Again we would not use the term "repetition" in the above sense if figures are one hundred percent identical (rows of miniature-Jinas etc.). In such a case repetition should primarily be regarded as a form-principle building up a complex motif (all the identical figures being taken as *one* motif). — As we are dealing with the relationship of entire compositions, correspondence is essential. We cannot in the present context compare the feet-lotus of one figure with the bhāmaṇḍala of another figure. Such cases could only be covered by systematically treating single elements (or partial motifs) as such (§ 311). On the other hand we can employ points 29/33 with reference to a single composition. This is possible if the composition has to some extent the character of a series. Thus all the four attendant-figures within an image may be provided with a cāmara or a lotus, and this would be a genuine example of repetition.

We have called repetition and diversity "non-historical" categories (point 21) In the wider context of the classification given in § 299 they are nevertheless "historical", i.e. historical in the widest sense of the word (point 20). This is because the historical aspect is under consideration whereas under point 1 it was ignored altogether

§ 308. On the basis of what has been said the following scheme can be drawn up:

28 NON-HISTORICAL METHODS
29 Repetition
30 Motif-identity and form-similarity
31 Motif-identity
32 Form-similarity
33 Diversity
34 Motif-difference and form-difference
35 Motif-difference (compare 32)
36 Form-difference (compare 31)
37 +/— -difference

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[1] The dupaṭṭās of the wall-figures of Temple No. 12. See § 92.
[2] Curls of Image No. 23 and strands of Image No 24. See § 101.

The examples to be given will be taken both from series and units. Their different role in the present context has been explained in the previous paragraph. For practical reasons the numbers have been allowed to continue although points 21-27 coincide with points 28-37 and 38-51.

An example of point 30 is the composition quoted in § 289. There six subsidiary figures have been provided with a lemon (composition showing the characteristics of a series). The repeated employment of the lotus with the wall-figures of the Pārśvanātha-temple at Khajuraho is an example of point 31 in so far as different lotus-formulas have been used. Point 31 is different from point 36 (dupattā-stylizations, see below). In point 31 we are dealing with *repetition* (unexpected frequency of a motif with more than one formula), whereas in point 36 we are dealing with *diversity* (unexpected form-differences in the case of a common motif). — The lotuses and cāmaras of the wall-figures of Temple No. 12 supply an excellent example of point 32 (§ 86). Here the form-similarity is unexpected, whereas in the corresponding category 35 the motif-difference is unexpected (kalaśa-bearers, see below). — An example for 34 are lion and elephant in § 303. Images Nos. 265b and 267a have kalaśa-bearers occupying the position of garland-bearers and shown in the same posture (§ 205). This instance of unexpected motif-difference comes under point 35. For the remaining points 36, 37 (+ and —) the reader is referred to the last three examples of § 303 (cushion-lotus, standing figures, lotus-lids). More blatant examples are the different pedestals of Fig. 27 (point 34), the different stylizations of the dupaṭṭā (point 36, § 92) and the presence or absence of the parasol-stick (point 37, e.g. compare Figs. 108 and 116).

§ 309. The scheme of the historical categories is the same but the historical aspect comes into the picture. We distinguish between "assimilation in its widest sense", "variation in its widest sense" and "assemblage". In the first two cases, the addition "in its widest sense" is necessary as part of the sub-categories are also designated as "assimilation" and "variation" respectively[1] — In order to explain the three categories we have to start with the scheme of Fig 389 B. If we leave aside the case of direct copying (also covered by the scheme), we get the following three units[2]: prototype — type — additional agent. If all the three units can be traced we are dealing with assimilation. Basically the type stems from the prototype, but there is also the influence of the additional agent. The difference between prototype and additional agent disappears if both components are of equal weight. In this case only the term "contamination" would be appropriate. We regard this instance however as a border-line case of assimilation. — If the additional agent is unknown (it may *de facto* exist or not) only prototype and type remain. Here the category is variation. We can distinguish between two cases In the first case the variation introduces an element which is in itself absolutely new; in the second case an element appears which can be traced elsewhere although we do not know from where the artist took it. In the first case one has to imagine that the particular feature was invented by the artist[3]. — In the cases under point 51 even the prototype is unknown (it may *de facto* exist or not).

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[1] In the present discussion the addition has always been dropped. Confusion with the sub-categories is after all not possible as the relevant terms are without exception compounds (form-assimilation etc.).

[2] The word "unit" is here employed in its ordinary sense.

[3] As the differentiation under point 20 is in principle 'partial' we are entitled to speak of non-creative form-principles. However the remark on newly invented features shows that partial differentiation may after all be creative with respect to the part concerned (i.e. with respect to isolated features). Thus the term "non-creative" requires some qualification in the case of the scheme under point 20. However in point 15 such cases should be simply ignored in order to avoid complications in the nomenclature

The closer the relationship between two images the greater the importance assumed by diversity. The greater the degree of deviation from what one would expect, the greater the interest which attaches to *either* repetition or diversity. — Amongst the historical categories, assimilation is basically more interesting than variation, and this is in its turn basically more interesting than assemblage. Assimilation is invariably of interest. Variation deserves attention when it is in evidence within a series or unit, provided the different renderings exist side by side (diversity, if considered under point 28). Variation is also interesting from the point of view of the history of a particular type. Thus all the attributes distinguishing the medieval Jinas at Deogarh from the early-medieval Jinas are instances of variation which deserve attention in this specific respect. Finally, variation is of importance if an individual piece shows a highly unconventional rendering of a particular motif. — Assemblage deserves study only in those cases where it is obvious that prototype and additional agent are virtually non-existent. This is true *inter alia* of the many-armed medieval goddesses of Northern India. Here a glance will suffice to show that the attributes have been distributed lavishly and without much regard being paid to a prototype Needless to say that only the phenomenon as such and its various facets (e.g. the medieval goddesses just mentioned) are of interest — not the individual case.

§ 310. The scheme takes the following shape:

38 HISTORICAL METHODS
39 Assimilation in its widest sense, cf 33
40 Substitution with form-assimilation (transfer), cf. 35
41 Substitution without form-assimilation (transfer), cf. 34
42 Form-assimilation to unconnected motif, cf. 36
43 Plus-variation (transfer), cf. 37
44 Minus-variation, cf. 37
45 Variation in its widest sense (cf. 33 as above)
46 Substitution with form-assimilation
47 Substitution without form-assimilation
48 Form-assimilation to unconnected motif
49 Plus-variation
50 Minus-variation
51 Assemblage (no sub-categories)

In contradistinction to the scheme for diversity, plus-variation and minus-variation have been listed separately. This is necessary because in 39 and 45 the direction[1] is a set one (running from the prototype to the type). In other words, it is not possible in these cases to regard the same process both as a plus-variation and a minus-variation. — Under 45, "form-assimilation" is interchangeable with "free artistic variation". Strictly speaking this osmose (§ 309) exists in all sub-categories of point 45 (thus the omission of a particular element may or may not have an outward source of inspiration). It can also be argued that form-assimilation under point 39 has a touch of "free artistic invention". But for all practical purposes it will suffice to consider this alternative under points 46 and 48. — We shall now supply examples. In this connection

[1] i.e. the direction of 'dissimilation' which is the counterpart of assimilation in Fig 389B. This 'dissimilation' (common factor of points 39 and 45) is analogous to diversity.

it will be found convenient to deal with assimilation and variation together without supplying examples of both in the case of each sub-category.

An example for point 46 is the parasol of the river-goddesses. Originally they were provided with the normal parasol, but in later times this was often replaced by a lotus taking the form of the parasol. As we do not know the exact source of this lotus-parasol we are dealing with point 46 (and not with 40). Fig. 266 shows a Jina-pedestal provided with the bending sādhus known from ācārya-pedestals. As compared with the first case this is an instance of assimilation and not of variation. Again substitution is not this time accompanied by form-assimilation to the motif replaced (hence point 41, and not point 40). — Form-assimilation is not necessarily connected with substitution A case in point is the shape of the smooth jaṭā which follows the shape of the head on the curl-images (Figs. 362-65). An even more conspicuous example is the form-assimilation of the jaṭā to the mukuṭa (observed *inter alia* on Śiva-images). The first case demonstrates point 42 (source known) and the second point 48 (source unknown — we do not know the god whose mukuta influenced the jaṭā). As mentioned above, point 48 also stands for free artistic variation. In this connection reference can be made to forms which occur but once (compare forms of the jaṭā as shown in Figs. 44 and 94). — The transfer of the throne from the seated to the standing Jinas and the transfer of the lateral strands from the strand-images to the curl-images are instances of point 43. The corresponding category 49 is demonstrated by the appearance in medieval Jina-images of the palm-lotus (Fig. 230 A). — Minus-variation can normally not be traced back to any source. Therefore we are as a rule dealing with point 50, and not with point 44. Compare, e.g., the absence of the lateral strands from many strand-images.

§ 311. We have described the historical categories (point 20) in some detail, but as indicated in the scheme of § 299 description was confined to a cluster of selected cases. We have already mentioned that discussion was always focussed on entire compositions and not on isolated elements. As a consequence, the specific character of the relevant processes (e.g. transformation of the jaṭā into a sort of mukuṭa) is not relevant from the point of view of the present scheme. Similarly the terms of this scheme cannot be employed while comparing motifs occupying different places in the composition (§ 307). "Form-assimilation to unconnected motif" is of course mentioned under points 42 and 48. However, this is actually substitution in its widest sense as we mentioned only cases where the relevant motifs occupied identical places in the composition.

Isolated elements are but one instance of further "schemes" which could be devised. Rows of more or less homogeneous figures offer another example. Such rows result both from the multiplication (-cum-variation) of a single prototype (Jinas) and from the assimilation of different prototypes (Avatāra-Viṣṇus). Thirdly it would be worthwhile to develop a "scheme" for sibling-relationship (Jina — Buddha). But the three cases mentioned are much simpler than the "schemes" of §§ 308 and 310 and may not even merit this designation. — Although the two last-mentioned schemes are contained in the comprehensive scheme at the beginning of the chapter we do not contend that points 1, 21 (= 28), and 24 (= 38) have been welded into a unit. The reader should regard them primarily as three different, though related, attempts at organizing the material.

We admit that our schemes are complicated. We feel however that without such schemes one runs the risk of treating non-exclusive categories as exclusive (§ 313). That here an attempt was made to avoid this mistake follows not only from the text of the present chapter but also from the scheme(s) as such (e.g. repetition of the caption under points 3, 6, 9, 12).

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

FORM-PRINCIPLES IN THE METHOD

§ 312. It has already been stated that due attention must be paid to form-principles not only in the study of art but also, and particularly, in the study of literature Here one will of course think of original texts in the first place (§ 300). But actually the form-principles underlying modern literature or *Sekundärliteratur* also deserve close study. This is at least true of those fields of research where the method is in no way standardized. Apart from the form-principles there are other aspects from which modern literature can be studied but these do not concern us *here*.

In order not to broaden the field of discussion unnecessarily we shall select examples of "form-principles in modern literature" from the present monograph. In the first place we can observe that the employment of the two categories "type" and "system"[1] is not restricted to the fields defined in the respective Chapters 20 and 21 The reader will observe that typological divisions are emphasized in many places, e.g. compare § 39 where the comparatively small number of prominent names mentioned in the Deogarh inscriptions is subdivided as follows:

Persons known from other sources
  Political leaders
  Prominent monks
Persons *not* known from other sources
  Names accompanied by an important title
  Names mentioned more than once

The emphasis on the separation of different systems is most conspicuous in Chapter 8 There we have separated the figures on the outer walls of Temple No. 12 from the respective inscriptions. We have also carefully distinguished from one another the various literary and artistic traditions with which the figures and/or the inscribed names had to be compared. Finally, a certain over-emphasis on the separation of systems is apparent in our diction which is always tailored to the formal aspect of the images and which tends to neglect the contents (§ 288).

§ 313. Other principles underlying our treatment have not yet been defined properly. One point is the effort not to treat as mutually exclusive, features which are compatible. In this connection one has to analyze the phenomena properly, establishing two or more different sets of features. Features of the same set are exclusive, features of different sets are not. This procedure was already adopted in § 276. But there all features belonged to the same plane (throne-blanket: single-twofold-threefold, segmental-triangular). It was therefore obvious that a feature like "twofold" was compatible both with "segmental" and "triangular". Therefore the arrangement of the features in parallel divisions (the different sets) as shown in Fig. 389 A was a matter of course. Slightly different was the case of the jaṭā (Figs. 358-65)

[1] As general tendencies in the method these two are in fact "form-principles".

where we distinguished between varieties in the design and varieties in the shape. In this case the planes were different. It would therefore be possible to restrict the classification erroneously to a few possible combinations ignoring the rest [We can use capital letters for the varieties in design and small letters for the varieties in the shape:] Then one might erroneously establish the combinations Ax and By, but not Ay and Bx; because A and y, B and x are regarded as mutually exclusive. If abstract features are under consideration it becomes still more difficult to avoid the said mistake In *Distinction* we treated assimilation and substitution as mutually exclusive. I e. we considered the case "A" (assimilation) and the case "B" (substitution), but not the case "AB". In order to accommodate the cases under AB we created an artificial category called "substitution of elements *of the same form*". Needless to add that elements normally do not have the same form unless assimilation has taken place. — If I want to express the last case with the symbols used for the previous one, I have to employ the symbols A (assimilation), B (no assimilation), x (substitution), and y (no substitution). As a result I get the three possible combinations Ax, Ay, Bx. The case is distinghuished from the previous one as the categories (A, x) are optional.

§ 314. We tried to avoid purely abstract concepts without practical value. The article on *Distinction in Indian Iconography* was based on the purely abstract concept called "reduction of distinctions". This has neither descriptive nor even propaedeutic value. It has no descriptive value because the cases covered by it are not connected either *formaliter* (from the point of view of the formal process) or psychologically (from the point of view of the motives of the artists etc) As far as the form is concerned we are dealing with a number of disconnected cases Similarly the psychological background of the processes varies a lot, the only common denominator being a certain carelessness regarding correct delineation of the motifs (§ 305 above). There is also no genuine propaedeutic value, as "reduction of distinctions" is not a guiding principle from which various methods of research could be derived. All that can be said is, that "reduction of distinctions" should receive a certain amount of attention in a systematic introduction to the study of Indian iconography. — That we tried to avoid the said mistake in the present monograph can be seen from the tables in §§ 308 and 310. There an attempt was made to list separately phenomena which seemed to be identical at first sight but actually differed in one way or the other (repeated occurrence of "substitution" under this and under other names) See also §§ 302 foot-note (on "repetition"), 304 foot-note (on "partial differentiation"), and 323 (on "relation").

§ 315. In a number of cases we thought it advisable to arrange terms normally regarded as different on a sliding scale. Thus it became possible to make the border between "formula" and higher units flexible:

(1) Formula in its narrowest sense: partial motif.
(2) Transition between (1) and (3): larger unit made up of several partial motifs.
(3) Formula in its widest sense: entire motif.

With this as a basis we can speak of a dharmacakra-formula, a throne-formula, and a tritīrthikā-formula although in the case of the higher units we would normally use the term "type" (figure-type, image-type). Conversely I can call a variety of the dharmacakra a "type", and this is also in keeping with the use of the sole term "type" for all the cases of similarity discussed in Chapter 20.

In the case of style and iconography one will be less ready to accept a sliding scale Normally we distinguish between the following:

(1) Style
(2) Iconography in its widest sense
(3) Iconography in its narrowest sense

It is however impossible to draw clear-cut lines of demarcation. According to the context the borders will be shifted this way or that way. This is of course only permissible if the principle of the sliding scale is properly explained. Take a few examples If we define (1) in its narrowest sense, we must admit that — in the case of Gothic sculpture and painting — only verticality in general is a stylistic feature whereas the vertical direction of a single element is already an iconographic feature. If on the other hand we take (1) in its widest sense, we can include not only the pointed arch but even features like attitude, physiognomy, and pattern of folds in the domaine of style. — One might expect that the border between (2) and (3) is less elastic than the border between (1) and (2) After all iconography in its narrowest sense considers attributes (or to be more correct· attributes in their function as attributes). It does not consider motifs which are not attributes, and motif-differences which are not attribute-differences. We have however observed that not only different gods but also different modes of rendering one and the same god have their respective attributes (§ 298 A). Thus the seated medieval Jinas at Deogarh have throne-legs whereas the standing medieval Jinas are shown without throne-legs. We can therefore say that the throne-legs are an attribute of the seated Jina The implication is that the opposition "throne-legs — no throne-legs" already concerns iconography in its narrowest sense and not iconography in its widest sense.

§ 316. In the case of many monographs we can expect a summary of the conclusions, but this is not possible in all cases. The present enquiry is a case in point Here we have a field of observations and not a single line of argument. Even the term "field" is misleading as we are actually dealing with *several* fields on various planes (type, system etc.). It would therefore appear that the *methods* developed are the true conclusions -- unless we decide to drop the idea of specific conclusions altogether. It is in any case better to say that conclusions in the normal sense of the word are rare in this thesis than identify its result with the isolated historical or morphological propositions it contains.

In the present chapter we have called conceptions like "type" and "system" form-principles of our enquiry. We may even go a step further and call the very emphasis on *several* categories ("type", "system" etc.) a "form-principle". The consequence is a concatenation of the categories, but this has not been described systematically as we have discussed "type", "system", "partial differentiation" etc *deliberately* in isolation. A few remarks may therefore serve as a substitute for a true integration (and as an explanation of occasional repetitions). Let us take the category "type". A type (in the sense of a concrete class etc) owes its existence to certain "form-principles" (often in the sense of point 15). If I consider the static aspect of the type, terms like "form-type", "composition-type" are called for If I consider the change of the various sub-motifs (while comparing different specimens of the same type) I have to employ the term "substitution". If I trace back a specific sub-motif to an outward source, than I have to call this source the "additional agent", and the process is one of "assimilation in its widest sense". Again a particular type is established by the comparison of various pieces. As a result, features common to all the relevant objects need not be described more

than once, and we have therefore achieved a "reduction". Finally the type is normally not isolated but belongs to a "hierarchy of types" so that the description of the hierarchy is logically the next step

§ 317. As already observed in § 306 it is important to avoid assertions which cannot be adequately supported. To achieve this special categories must be developed, and our points 45 and 51 are conspicuous instances. Another example is the "parallel divisions" which make it unnecessary to state whether all the possible combinations of a given set of features are actually in existence (§ 276).

It is in fact essential in this connection to have terms which say as much as possible without saying too much. Fig. 333 presents a cluster of mutually related motifs. It is difficult to describe the historical relationship of all these motifs, and therefore a purely descriptive treatment of the various points of agreement may appear to be the only possible method. However, our "pool" model goes one step further and paves at least the way for a sort of historical treatment (see also Fig. 361).

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

METHODS FOR PRACTICE

§ 318. Although we have described our four terms in Chapters 20-23 in some detail we have not yet explained in a precise manner how they can be put to practical use. This is all the more necessary as the practical use of the various terms and sub-terms varies considerably.

In Chapter 20 we have distinguished six "types of types" Any amount of time could be devoted to the study of the first three types (formulas, figure-types, and image-types). The study of composition-types and motif-types would each only provide material for a single monograph, even if the whole range of Indian art were under consideration. In the case of form-types the available material may be even more limited.

Besides the differences in scope there are differences in the degree of objectivity and rigidity. Broadly speaking all the six types of types can be studied by different scholars on the same lines. But sometimes the matter becomes controversial. This is true e g of the definition of the two early-medieval styles (§ 97) and of the classification of formulas (§ 276) In particular differences of opinion are likely to arise in connection with the classification of the "figure-types" as in this case both, form and content, have to be considered. One has for example to decide in one's classification whether the anthropomorphous Visnu is closer to the therio-antropomorphous Varāha (human body with a boar's head) or closer to Sūrya — There may even be different approaches to the problem of "basic" classification In the case of Deogarh the basic classification deals with *images*; besides, the main emphasis is on *iconography*, not on style. A radical shift of emphasis from iconography to style would modify the classification to some extent. It cannot even be taken for granted that the basic classification considers always entire images. Partial differentiation (in the form of assimilation, variation etc) can create such a gulf between type and prototype that the relationship can no longer be recognized. In other words, the process of reproduction does not result in a unit (class, group etc.) but in a number of images which are mutually connected by various parallels without showing a common denominator. In such a case one has to try a classification of large partial motifs, like throne, main-figure etc. If that is also not possible one has to list the various formulas and to study their distribution (§ 321 below).

§ 319. Between the previous and the following paragraph we insert a few observations on the question of urgency. Broadly speaking, the non-iconoplastic iconography (including e.g. the motifs on the lion-capital from Sarnath) should take precedence before the iconoplastic iconography. The realm of non-iconoplastic iconography has been styled "symbol worship" by U.P. Shah (SHAH, *Studies*). *Iconoplastic* iconography normally deals with human figures and with compositions dominated by human figures. (To this must be added a few theriomorphous representations like Varāha, Nandin etc) The rest we can call iconography of *symbols*[1] following U.P. Shah. Many sources for this iconography of symbols (in particular sets of symbols

[1] For a slightly different employment of the term "symbol" refer to § 262 above (foot-note). See also § 297 (foot-note)

in ancient Jain texts and on Tibetan tankas) have not yet been exploited to their full extent.
In the case of iconoplastic art, the early-medieval art of the North has been neglected to some extent. But this is only one example. We have to mention it, as our Chapters 7-10 are an attempt to reduce this gap.

§ 320. The concept of "system" partly leads to a modified approach and partly helps to delineate the individual fields of research. By "modified approach" we refer primarily to a shift of emphasis: precedence of the form (medium of art) before the textual background (medium of literature). The practical implications of this shift are adequately covered by the observations in Chapters 20-23. The "modified approach" also refers to the proper consideration of differences as they exist between different branches of the same medium (see §§ 285-86). The "new delineation of the fields of research" requires some comment. Here the stress is not on the differences between two or more systems but on the individual system as such. The basic fact is that the iconography e.g. of an individual temple should be studied as a self-contained unit. In other words such a temple (cave etc.) is not just a specimen of art, interesting in one respect or the other, but it is (by virtue of its iconography) a field (or subject) of study in its own right. The reason for this has already been given in § 289: Each temple of some consequence has its own iconography. We can clarify this assertion by calling a system an area within which certain form-principles are effective. Not in the sense that different systems have form-principles different *as* form-principles (this may but need not be the case), but in the sense that the common form-principles (transfer, form-assimilation etc) produce a peculiar result in each particular case. Thus the iconography of one temple may favour the hand-attribute "lemon" while the iconography of another temple favours the hand-attribute "cāmara". — This characterization applies to some extent even to the major systems. However the specific character of the iconography of a particular region cannot be described merely in terms of "form-principles". In this case additional factors (local tradition etc.) have to be taken into consideration.

In the case of systems based on religions, subdivision may be possible in more than one way. The following subdivision of Buddhist iconography would be conceivable:

(1) Iconography of symbols (pre-Buddhist)
(2) Early iconoplastic art of Buddhism (Hīnayāna)
(3) Mahāyāna iconography with little or no Śaiva influence
(4) Mahāyāna iconography with marked Śaiva influence

On the other hand one may emphasize cults like "Nāgism" (snake-worship), "Vṛksism" (tree-worship), and "Padmism" (lotus-worship). If taken into consideration, these trends would force us to modify the above scheme considerably (see also § 262). The osmosis between Buddhist iconography and Śaiva iconography also presents certain problems in connection with the definition of the subdivisions.

§ 321 Systems and types (in particular image-types) are the basic objects of iconographic research. Nevertheless certain images are isolated: related images cannot be traced or were never in existence. Moreover catalogues of public and private collections describe of necessity isolated images, but never systems or types. As a substitute one should at least supply the distribution-data for the various attributes and formulas occurring in an image. In the case of

the Visṇu at Berlin[1] it would be interesting to know the exact distribution of curls and moustache in *Viṣṇu*-iconography, in the case of the Large Śānti in Temple No. 12 it is important to know the distribution of the double-rosette in *Jina*-iconography (§ 57). The word "substitute" should however not be misunderstood. On the one hand we have to admit that distribution-data do not convey an exact idea of the system and of the type to which an image originally belonged. They are at the most an *ersatz*. On the other hand the study of distribution-data should not be restricted to isolated images. Even the study of a subject like the Jina-images at Deogarh should - if possible - supply distribution-data for all provinces. But: the smaller the material, the greater the necessity to supply distribution-data also for other areas. As a consequence, distribution-data are most necessary in the case of *isolated images*. — Another advantage of such enquiries is the fact that they supply material for an exact evaluation of the degree of originality shown by a specific image. This is of some consequence as originality (normally expressed by the adjective "interesting") plays an important part in modern literature on iconography. A systematic study of distribution-data will moreover force scholars to pay due attention to isolated or rare features which are *inconspicuous* (compare e.g. Fig. 78: cāmara-bearers not identical). — The last step is the study of *inter-type* distribution-data, e.g. of the distribution of curls in Indian iconography. The curls are found with the Jina, the Buddha, occasionally with Visnu (the above example), with Lakulīśa and others. A study of these inter-type distribution-data paves the way for (or coincides with) a study of the interrelation of the figure-types (Jina, Buddha etc) found in Indian iconography (§ 277). — Where the basic classification can only be given in the form of an inventory of formulas (§ 318) one has to establish distribution-data for these formulas with reference to the area studied. In case it should prove impossible to classify the Western Indian bronze Jinas, one should at least say in which images a specific formula (e.g a specific dhotī-formula) occurs

The above paragraph supplements the observations on identification-value etc. in §§ 293-294.

§ 322. Form-principles in Indian art (in particular those listed as points 4, 7, 10, 13) are not an extensive field of study but provide just enough material for a single monograph. It must however be remembered that the number of form-principles is greater than would appear at first sight. A form-principle like "lack of connection" (actually a sort of deficiency, § 142) will not become apparent from a superficial study A form-principle which strikes even the uninitiated and which can be studied in a fairly large number of compositions is the influence of the lotus-motif in Indian art Lotuses appear in unexpected forms, in unexpected number, and at unexpected places. Besides, non-vegetable objects have often been partially transformed into vegetable motifs more or less clearly connected with the lotus. The most curious employment of the lotus-motif are the lotus-like parasols mushrooming from the crowning members of stūpas depicted in relief (see e g D. Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati*, Pl. I).

§ 323 It is possible to explain in a few words some principles which are of importance for the interpretation of *entire texts* (as opposed to the interpretation and evaluation of selected passages and expressions). We can summarize these principles under the heading "relation". This is a very abstract concept indeed, but unlike "distinction" (see § 314) it is not without

[1] *Indologen-Tagung 1959* (Essen), Gottingen 1960, p. 167.

practical importance, for it links several lines of research. For the sake of simplicity we shall describe these without reference to the other methodological matter contained in the present monograph.

(1) Repetition. Most texts contain numerous instances of repetition, and these can again be arranged in numerous types. In editions and translations such repetitions should be marked as such, and this throughout — not only in the most blatant cases.

(2) Certain types of repetition are systematic and connected with variation: We are dealing with a pattern employed repeatedly (§ 291). In such cases the distinction between repetitions and variations (i.e. a structural analysis) does not only serve the negative purpose of reduction but also the positive purpose of emphasizing the variations. If the variation is regular, then the method suggests itself. If the variation is irregular, then the analysis becomes difficult (but even more necessary).

(3) Overlapping. A single text may contain terms, series of terms and statements which overlap The strength of this tendency as well as the situation in each single case must be duly described.

(4) Inconsistency. A text may contain numerous types of inconsistencies (e.g. lack of consistency between questions and answers in a dialogue). The types and the individual cases must be described.

To sum up: We need, in all these cases, a "positive" treatment, i.e. a treatment which does not explain away or minimize the said tendencies but brings them into focus.

§ 324 Before concluding this chapter we would like to make two practical suggestions which are not connected with the general line of argument. We have already emphasized in § 6 of the Introduction that so-called "short inventories" would be of vital importance for the study of Indian art. There are no doubt situations where a short inventory would only be of limited use or of no use at all. That is true in all those cases where the material must be reconstructed before it is presented to the reader. Nobody would attempt to prepare a short inventory of a Portuguese settlement or of an excavation. In the first case the study of the archaeological material must be supplemented by the study of the rich literary sources available (Gritli von Mitterwallner); in the second case the data collected must be brought together to form a connected whole. All this is not possible within the limits of a *short inventory* but can only be done in a monograph. Even the description of the Jain temples at Deogarh (i e. of the structures) involves certain theories regarding the chronological and spatial distribution — theories which are again beyond the compass of a short inventory.

The negative examples given should however not be regarded as deterrents. Often a penetrating study of the material is either not possible at all or not necessary during the initial phase of research Such is the case with the various Hindu relics (excluding the Gupta temple) scattered around Deogarh. The usefulness of short inventories is also by no means restricted to debris and minor objects. Nor is it restricted to little-known monuments A short inventory of the Khajuraho temples for example would be most useful. In the case of entire temples the usefulness could even be enhanced by drawing up a special schedule. The "schedule" (taking this word in its widest sense) should demand inter alia a standard set of photos (including a front view, a rear view and a view of one of the two sides), a plan, an evaluation of the inscriptions (for the purpose of dating the temple or its parts), and a census-like account of the various figures.

§ 325. The photos in the short inventories would serve a double purpose, one more general and one more specific. General: more material would become available for study; specific: monuments which are vulnerable would at least be preserved visually[1]. But even an optimist will not expect that a scheme for short inventories will make perceptible progress in the course of a decade or two. It would therefore be desirable to push forward at least with the pictorial representation. Here a radical and simple solution is possible. One could microfilm the whole material (prints, enlargements, original drawings, technical drawings, non-photographic reproductions in old books) available in the various private and public collections. The photos taken could be made available to scholars in more than one form (microfiche, microcard, slide, enlargement)[2].

The nature of the material thus made available would of course differ considerably from the pictorial survey contained in the short inventories, but it would basically serve the same purpose. To call the suggested microfilm scheme useful would be an understatement. We would rather say that this would put the study of Indian art on an entirely new footing

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[1] Possibilities of physical and non-physical preservation will be discussed in Vol 4 of *Indologia Berolinensis*. — See also LEELA SHIVESHWARKAR, India's art drain (*The Hindustan Times* of 29-6-69). I am grateful to Magdalene Duckwitz, New Delhi, who brought this article to my notice

[2] The author hopes that a microfiche-edition of Deogarh photos not published in the present volume can be brought out in the not too distant future.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS

§ 326. Following the treatment of the four categories in Chapters 20-23 we are left with a twofold question. On the one hand we wish to know to which fields of study the four categories are relevant. On the other hand we want to know whether an analogous starting point can be found in fields where the four categories cannot be entrusted with the task of a systematic and exhaustive survey. In the case of the first question it need only be said that our categories were developed for iconoplastic art. Therefore the primary application is to this sector as well as to related sectors in art (e.g. to miniatures with a hieratic composition). In the case of literature three out of the four categories are under consideration (all except "attribute"). See §§ 282, 291 and 300. The greater the imaginative bias (and the greater the discrepancy between the literary and the real cosmos) the greater the importance of the three categories. Cases in point are the concrete imagination of mythological literature and the abstract imagination of pre-philosophical literature (Brāhmanas, Jain Bhāsyas etc.).

§ 327. The treatment in art or literature according to the four (or three) categories may be called "systematic". Other types of treatment may be referred to as "non-systematic". Here a positive designation is not possible as there is more than one alternative to our method (purely historical method, symbolical interpretation etc). That the word "systematic" does not imply any judgement goes without saying. The term was only coined for the purpose of the present chapter.

The advantages of a "systematic" approach to Indian iconography can be easily demonstrated Suppose we prepare on the basis of each of the more important sub-categories (within the four categories) *one monograph* — larger or smaller — according to the requirements of the case. This would result in a survey of iconoplastic art which covers a surprisingly large number of aspects Needless to say, such a "systematic" treatment would not be non-historical throughout It would be primarily but by no means exclusively non-historical.

§ 327 A. The basic idea of "systematic" treatment in general is complete coverage of all aspects. It is the advantage of completeness which made us ask in § 326 for an analogous starting point in fields other than art and literature. We shall try to answer the question with respect to a subject taken from the field of Indian religion. The subject will be the "Indian Sādhus" and we suggest as a basis for the study the three concepts *item*, *parallel*, and *alternative*. Broadly speaking one has to develop as many items, parallels, and alternatives as possible. Besides it is desirable to supplement these three basic concepts by others which are to be devised according to the requirements of the case.

The following is a list of *items* that together form a certain sector of the subject "Indian Sādhus" (i.e. the political and organisational sector):

(1) The organisation of the sādhus (cf. Ghurye and Chapekar, *Indian Sadhus*).

(2) The internal policy of the orders.
(3) The relationship of the orders one to another.
(4) The orders and the contemporary rulers.
(5) The orders and the laity associated with them.

We can now use the concepts of *parallels* and *alternatives* in order to include further material in the scope of the study. If I start from the organisation of the Jaina sādhus then the organisation of the Buddhist orders will be a *parallel*. To this may be added parallels in their widest sense: organization of the Indian castes and organization of the hierarchies of gods in Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism.

The membership of a particular order is indicated to a greater or lesser extent by external features like dress, sectarian marks etc. Here we are dealing with what may be called "human iconography". The term as such is based on the concept of "parallels" as it refers to sādhus of any description as well as to kings, officers etc. In relation to the item "organization", this is a sub-item (or perhaps we would better say: a supplementary item) Human iconography can of course not be separated from the iconography of the gods — a further parallel. Both actually form one subject.

The third basic concept *(alternative)* is connected with the problem of explanation and understanding. If I want to explain Indian monasticism I have to trace as many likely causes as possible (mysticism, schamanism etc.) If I want to explain the existence of the monastic population (or if I want to understand the decision of the individual monk and nun) I have to trace every conceivable factor and motive down to the admission of numerous widows as nuns.

The basic concepts mentioned (as well as additional basic concepts which can be developed) are the vehicles which enable us to control an ever increasing number of relevant facts and to escape from what may be called the autocracy of "basic" or "essential" aspects and from arbitrary selection disguised as vision. Incidentally it may be mentioned that the concept of parallels results in numerous miniature disciplines (in our case organisational studies, human iconography etc.).

§ 328. The four categories have a common denominator. They connect the motif in question primarily with its immediate context. Here the connection with prototypes and parallels remote in time and space is the second step rather than the first It is in particular the categories "type" and "system" (to be more correct: image-types and lesser systems) which insist on a comprehensive treatment of a contiguous field of study (e.g. of the wall-figures of a particular temple, of a uniform class of images, of a particular text, of a self-contained portion within a text).

This method contrasts with more than one of the prevalent methods. One example is the purely historical method This will place a particular image (e.g. a Sarasvatī on the outer walls of a particular temple) in the context of the history of the motif which extends over more than a millennium, but not in the context of the other wall-figures appearing on the same temple and also not in the context of closely-related types representing other deities. In this connection the historical method can also be called *lineal* whereas our "systematic" method deals with *contiguous fields*. Another contrasting method is that of collecting data. Here the historical bias is not necessarily involved and there is also no restriction to one single motif. The collection may comprise all the iconographic features found in a comparatively large section of iconoplastic art (e.g. in South Indian art) or all the data on a particular subject found in a

particular corpus of literature (e.g. architectural data in the Jain canon). Although different from the historical method the second method also ignores the context as it arranges the material on the basis of a classification designed by the author In both cases the original motif is not related to other motifs in its immediate context, and the structure of the material forming the context (iconographic programme of a particular temple, literary text) is not considered at all.

§ 329. In more advanced cultures countless literary and artistic forms of expression tend to develop — a trend towards over-expression. This is partly due to the improved methods of transmission (various versions of the same story transmitted simultaneously) and partly to the increasing number of poets etc who have to produce something by reason of their profession and in many cases take to reproduction in the absence of anything new. The more blatant aspects of this tendency have been discussed in § 304 (partial differentiation). — Over-expression in the culture under review makes it imperative for the student to reshape the material in such a way that it can be reasonably comprehended. This presents no problem if two texts or two images are identical wholly or in part. There are however more subtle forms of identity, i.e. overlapping statements, repeated use of the same sentence-material, repeated use of the same iconographic formulas in varying combinations. A systematic study of these phenomena may be objected to as being too analytical. It may be felt that analysis and search for partial repetitions take away the originality: An 'original creation' must be considered in its entirety, and a comparison with other creations should put the emphasis on difference and not on similarity It is however in the long run impossible to exclude investigations into the more subtle forms of repetition from our studies We nevertheless admit that such investigations can only be conducted with the utmost care and with equal regard for both, originality and reproductive tendencies

Every identification in the above sense is a reduction. The most extreme is the reduction to *formal factors*, and in this connection we can employ our form-principles: Sometimes the inflation of the material has reached such a degree that the normal reduction of the material will not suffice to bring it within the scope of comprehension. This holds true of such different fields of study as the Lamaistic pantheon and the old commentaries on the Jain canon. Here a study of the form-principles is (apart from its general usefulness) the ***conditio sine qua non*** for producing an intelligible survey of the material (or rather of the general situation).

To some extent the observations in the present Part III on the methods, and the data supplied in Part II are mutually explanatory. To some extent the observations on the method go beyond the scope of this present work. In this case further demonstration is required. The author is aware of his commitment vis-à-vis the reader in respect to the observations on the method — a commitment which must be met in the years which lie ahead.

§ 329 A. Further observations on a number of points relevant to the present monograph will be included in the author's forthcoming article on "*Unwritten Books in Indology*" (to be published in Vol. 4 of *Indologia Berolinensis*). The observations will cover the following subjects: Research-schemes based on non-overlapping categories (§ 276 of Ch. 20, and § 327 A of Ch. 26); the difference between ideal systems and real systems (§§ 285-86 of Ch. 21), "comprehensive lists" (supplement to Ch. 24); the study of form-principles as a study of "cultural techniques" (first section of § 329, Ch. 26); "demonstration" (last section of § 329, Ch. 26).

Fig 1 Mukherji's plan (§ 17)

PART FOUR

PHOTOS AND DRAWINGS

Fig. 2. Temple No 12 and adjacent structures (§ 17)

Fig 3. Hall in front of Temple No 12 (p 38)

Fig. 4. Area to the north of Temple No 12 (§ 17)

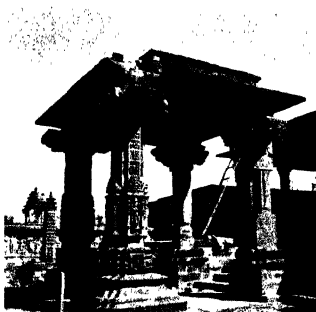



Fig 5 Portico (p 38 and Fig 392) Right rear-pillar carries inscription of samvat 919 (see Fig 46 and p 46)

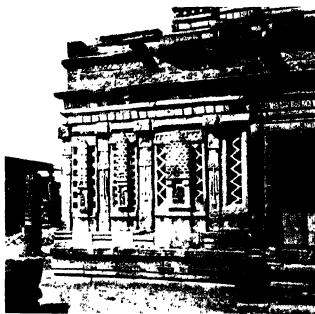



Fig. 6. Temple No 12, rear wall, south-half (§ 80)

Fig. 7 Temple No. 12, main idol (Image No. 1, Class with Miniature-Figures)
See also Figs. 7A, 8, 8A, 9, 10, 394 — §§ 49-57

Fig. 7A Image No 1 Cf Fig 7

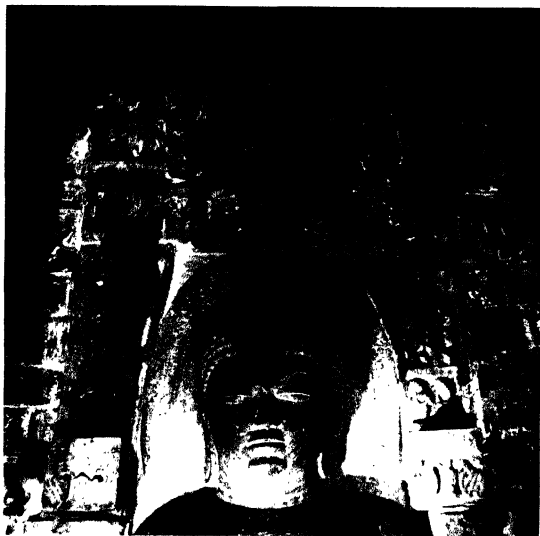



Fig 8 Image No. 1 — Cf Fig 7

Fig. 8A. Image No. 1 — Cf. Fig. 7

Fig. 9. Temple No 12, Image No 3 (§§ 58-64) *and* left hand cāmara-bearer (§ 53) of Image No 1 (cf Fig 7)

Fig. 10. Right-hand cāmara-bearer (§ 53) of Image No. 1 (cf. Fig. 7)

Fig. 11. Gwalior, Teli-kā-mandir, outer door-frame, lower door-jamb to the right (§ 54).

Fig. 12 Gyaraspur, Mālādevi-Temple, outer door-frame, reveal to the right (§ 55)

Fig 13. Indor (Dt Guna), Gargaj Mahādeva Temple, lower door-jamb to the left (§ 56)

Fig. 14 Temple No. 12, Image No. 2 (Ambikā) §§ 58-64

Fig 15. Temple No 12, Image No 4 (Ambikā) See also Fig 386 — §§ 58-64

Fig. 16 Temple No. 12, Image No. 5 (Ambikā) — §§ 58-64

Fig. 17 Temple No 16, Image No 6 (Ambikā) - §§ 58-64

Figs 18-18A. Gwalior Fort, rock-cut sculpture of Ambikā and her Partner (§ 63)

Fig. 19. Calcutta, Indian Museum, Tārā (§ 64 A)

Fig 20. Wall-Section V, Images Nos 8 (§ 65) and 308 (§ 227) Image No 308 is dated samvat 1176

Fig. 21. Wall-Section XVI, Image No 9 (§ 66)

Fig 23. Image No 13, panel at the bottom right — Cf Figs 28/29

Fig 22. Mathura, Curzon Museum, caumukha C 66

Fig. 25. Wall-Section II, Image No 10 (§ 67)

Fig. 24. Wall-Section II, Image No 11 (§ 67)

Fig. 26. Image No 9A (§ 67)

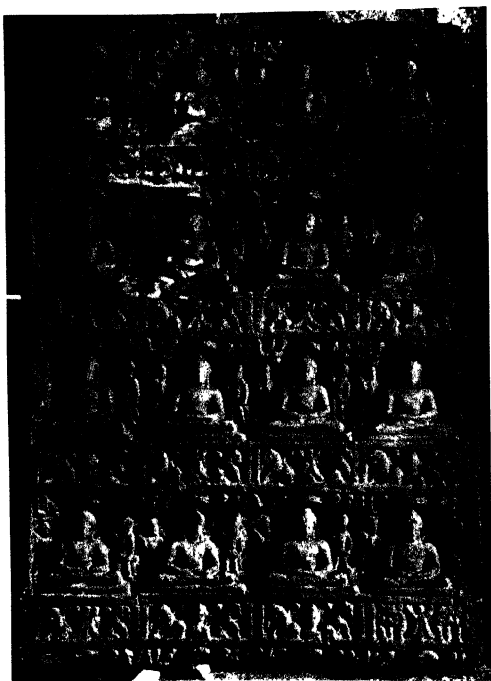



Fig. 27. Hall in front of Temple No 12, caturvimsatipatta (Image No 12) — §§ 67, 294, 308

Figs. 28-29 Temple No 15, main idol (Image No 13 of the Throne-Frame Class) See also Figs 23, 30, 31 §§ 68 71

Fig. 30 Image No 13 See also Fig 323 - Cf Figs 28-29

Fig. 31 Image No 13 Cf Figs 28-29

Fig. 33. Kaushambi, Jina (§ 70)

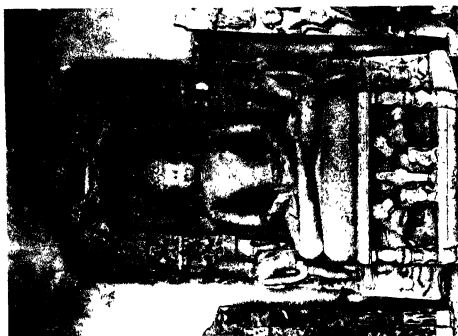



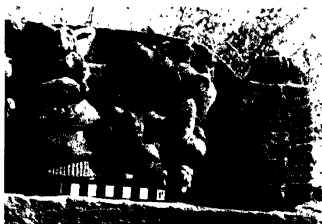
Fig. 32 Gwalior Fort, Jina (§ 70)

Figs 34-35 Shrine No 12 I, Image No 14 (§ 72)

Fig. 36 Temple No. 12, Image No. 15 (Double-Snake Group of the Fan Class). See § 73-78 for the Group (Nos. 15-21) and Fig. 38 for the present image.

Fig. 37. Image No. 21 — Cf. Fig. 36

Fig 38 Image No 15 See for this image also Fig 36
Cf Fig 36

Fig. 39. Images Nos 17 (right-hand attendant) and 16 (left-hand attendant) See also Fig 40 - Cf Fig 36.

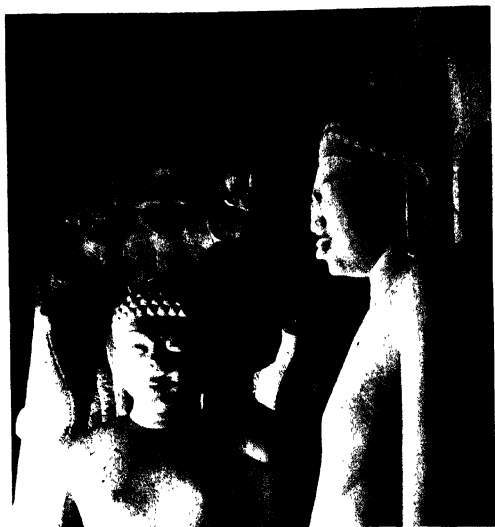



Fig 40 Images Nos 17 and 16 See also Fig 39 – Cf Fig 36

Fig 41 Image No 18 - Cf Fig 36

Fig. 42. Image No 19 See also Fig 43 - Cf Fig 36

Fig 43 Image No 19 See also Fig 42 Cf Fig 36

Fig. 44 Image No 20 Cf Fig 36

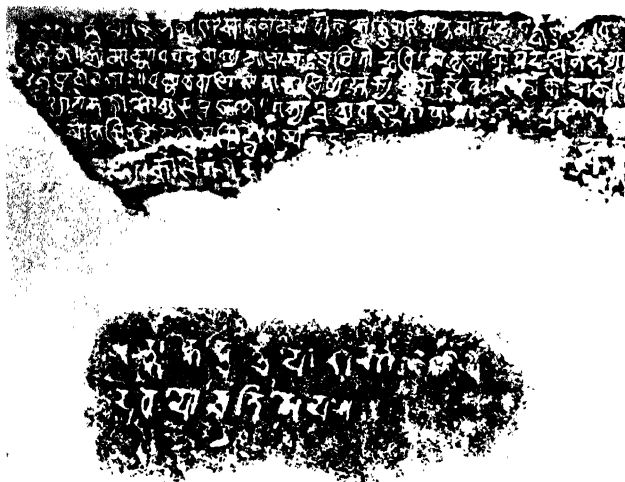



Fig 45 Top Inscription of Image No 17 (see Fig 39) §§ 74-77
Bottom Inscription of Image No 21 (see Fig 37) §§ 74-77

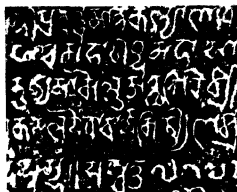



Fig 46. Portion of inscription of samvat 919 (See Fig 5) § 77

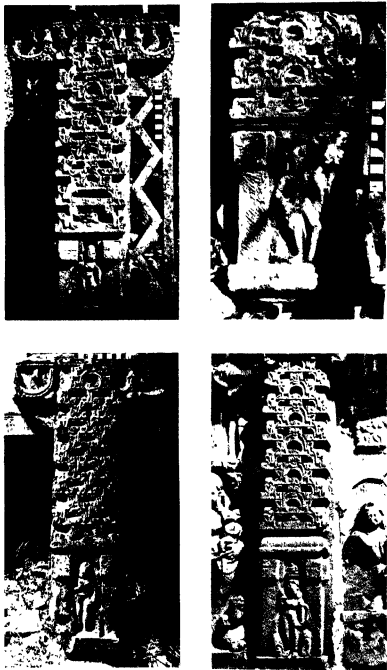
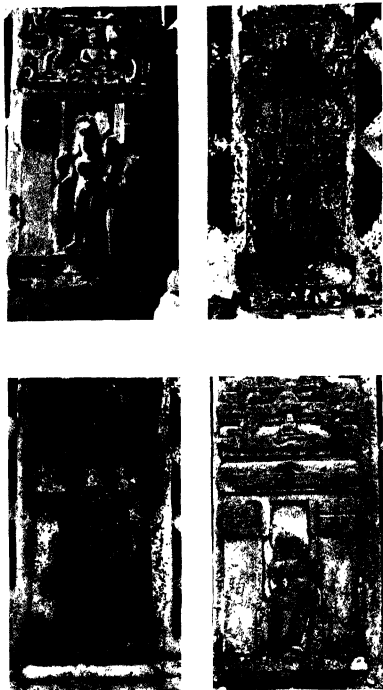
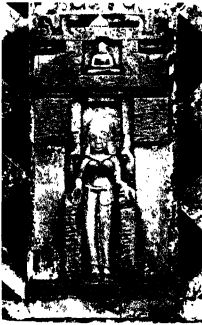
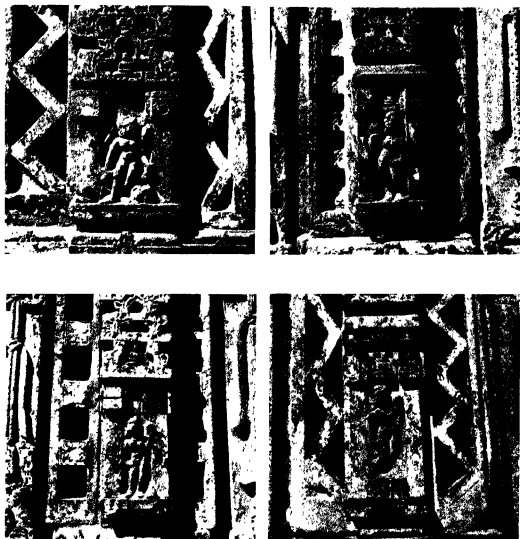
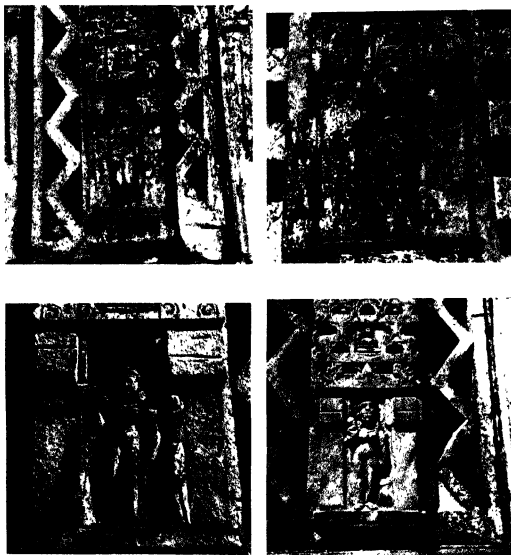
Fig. 47 Temple No 12, inscriptions belonging to wall-figures nos 6 and 12 (top left and right), 15 and 17 (bottom left and right) See Figs 56, 62, 65, 67 -- §§ 84 and 77

Figs 48-51. Wall-figures appearing on four architectural fragments (§ 94)

Fig. 52. Temple No. 12, wall-figure no. 1. For nos. 3-23 and 26 see Figs. 53-74. For inscriptions see Fig. 47. For names and arrangement see Fig. 342. — Chapter 8

Figs. 53-56 Wall-figures, nos. 3-6. Cf. Fig. 52

Figs. 57-60. Wall-figures nos 7-10. — Cf. Fig 52

Figs. 61-63. Wall-figures nos. 11, 12, 14 — Cf. Fig. 52

Figs. 64-67 Wall figures nos 13, 15, 16, 17 — Cf Fig 52

Figs 68-71 Wall figures nos 18-21 – Cf Fig 52

Figs. 72-74. Wall-figures nos. 22, 23, 26 — Cf. Fig. 52
Fig. 75 Badoh, Gadarmal, rear-wall, 2nd figure from left — § 93

Fig. 76 Rajgir, Vaibhara Hill, Jina (§ 99)

Fig 77 Temple No 12, Image No 25 (Uncouth Class) See also Fig 78 - § 101

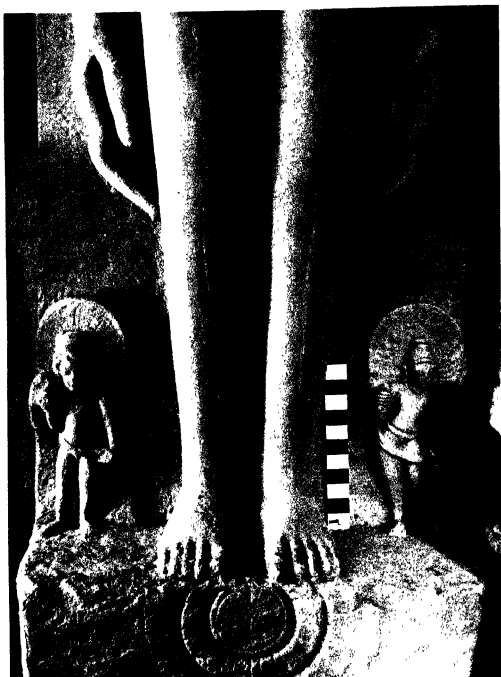



Fig 78. Image No 25 Cf Fig 77

Fig 79 Temple No 12, Image No 30 (Uncouth Class) § 102.

Fig 80 Image No 34 (Uncouth Class) — § 102

Fig 81 Temple No 12, Images Nos 35 and 32 (Uncouth Class) See for No 35 also Fig 349 § 102

Fig. 82 Temple No. 13, Image No. 33 (Uncouth Class) § 102

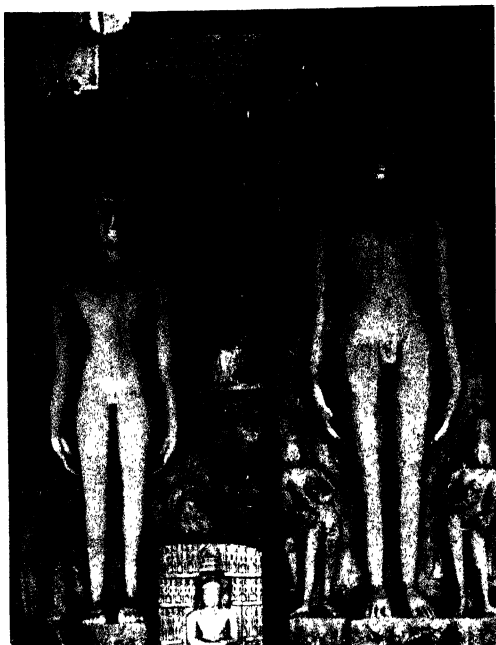



Fig 83. Hall in front of Temple No 12, Images Nos 38 (Uncouth Class) and 160 (Class with Miniature-Figures) §§ 102 and 153

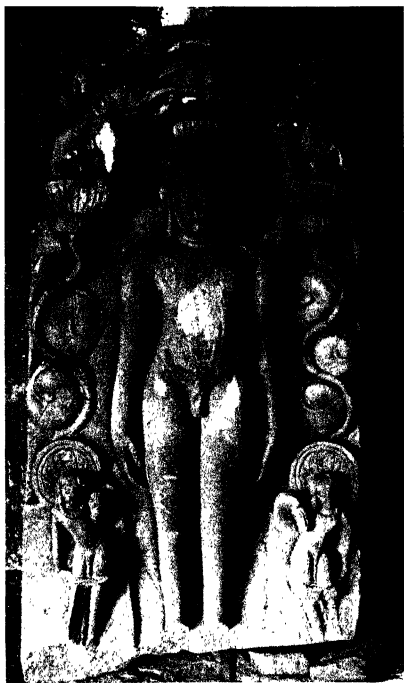



Fig. 84. Temple No. 21, Image No. 46 (Uncouth Class) § 104

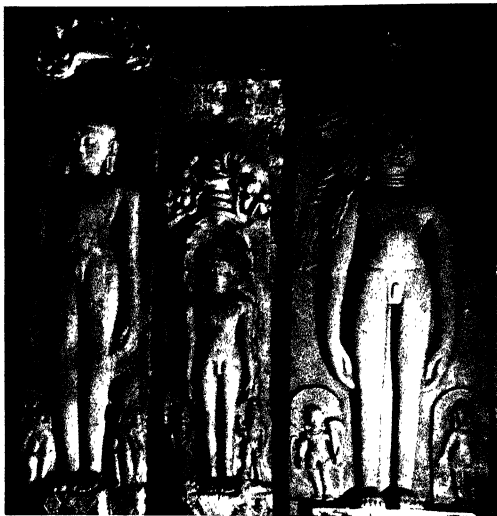



Fig 85. Temple No 13, Images Nos 107 (Patite-Jatā Class), 271 (Hovering Class), 49 (Uncouth Class) — SC 116, 201, 105

Fig. 86 Temple No. 15, Image No. 52 (Uncouth Class). § 105

Fig. 87. Temple No. 17, Images Nos. 53 (Uncouth Class) and 247 (Resting Class). Both images now stand in the Dharmshala. — §§ 105 and 186

Fig 88 Temple No 16, Image No 55 (Uncouth Class) § 105

Fig. 89. Chamber in the hall in front of Temple No. 12, Images Nos. 56 (Uncouth Class) and 185 (Section of the Plain Images) — §§ 106 and 157

Fig 90. Fragment of door jamb showing the goddess Gaṅgā
(cf Uncouth Class) § 106

Fig 91 Deogarh, Museum, head of a Hindu image (Kṛṣṇa? Skanda?), Slender Class § 107

Fig 92 Wall-Section II, Ambikā (Slender Class) - § 107

Fig 93 Temple No 13, Images Nos 59 and 60 (Slender Class) See for No 60 also Fig 359 § 108

Fig 94 Temple No 12, Image No 65 (Slender Class) § 108

Fig 95. Image No 66 (Slender Class) - S 108

Fig. 96. Wall-Section XII, Image No. 57 (Slender Class) — § 107.

Fig. 97. Temple No. 16, Image No. 74 (Fair Class) — § 110.

Fig 98 Temple No 16, Images Nos 72 and 73 (Four Class) See also Figs 99 and 99A § 110

Fig. 99 Image No. 72 Cf. Fig. 98

Fig 99A Image No. 73 Cf. Fig. 98

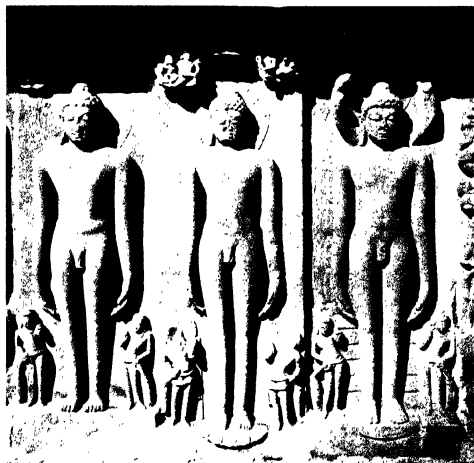



Fig. 100[1] Wall Section XIII, Images Nos. 76, 80, 77 (Tur Class)
For No. 80 see also Fig. 106 — § 111

[1] The next Fig. bears the number "102"

Fig 102 Wall-Section I, Image No. 78 (Fair Class) — § 111

Fig 103 Wall-Section I, Image No. 79 (Fair Class) — § 111

Fig 104 Wall-Section XVI, image No. 81 (Fair Class). See also Fig 105 — § 111

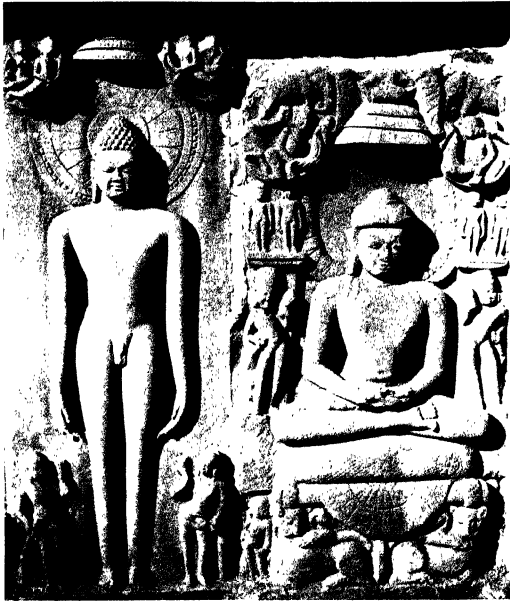



Fig 105 Wall Section XXI, Images Nos 81 (Early Class) and 200 (Section of the Late Images) For No 81 cf Fig 104 [illegible] 111 and 161

Fig 106 Image No 80 Cf Fig 100

Fig 107 Wall-Section IV, Images Nos 309 (Geometrical Class) and 82 (Hair Class) – §§ 227 and 111

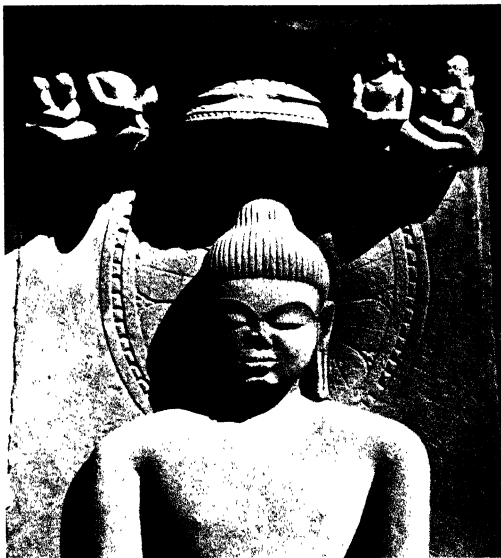



Fig 108 Wall Section XIV, Image No 81 (Ear Class) See also Fig 365 C 111

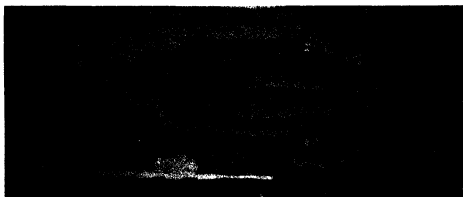



Fig 112 Image No 83 Cf Fig 111

Fig 113 Temple No 13, Image No 87 (Fair Class) See also Fig 121 § 111.

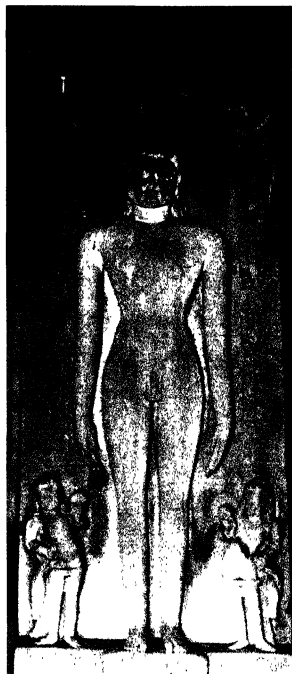



Fig 114. Temple No 13, Image No 88 (Four Class) p 111

Fig 115 Temple No 12, Image No 89 (Late Class I a Eastern Class) — § 111

Fig. 116 Wall-Section XIII, Image No. 90 (Fair Class) — § 111

Fig. 117. Wall-Section XIII, Images Nos. 91 (Fair Class), 75 (Fair Class), 62 (Slender Class) — §§ 111, 108

Fig 118 Sanchi, Buddha (§ 113)

Fig. 120 Wall-Section VI, Ambikā (§ 114)

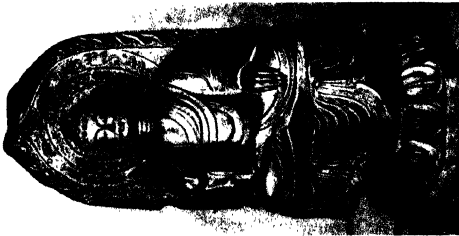



Fig 119. Shantung (China), Buddha (§ 112)

Fig. 121. Temple No. 13, Images Nos. 95 (Late Eastern Class) and 87 (Late Class). See also Figs. 122 and 113. Cf. 113 and 111.

Fig. 122. Image No. 95. Cf. Fig. 121.

Fig 123 Hall in front of Temple No 12, Image No 97 (Far Eastern Class) C 114

Fig 124 Image No 92 (Far Eastern Class) — § 113

Fig 125. Wall-Section V, Image No 109 (Partite-Jatā Class) — § 116

Fig 126 Wall-Section III, Image No 103 (Partite Jata Class) — § 116

Fig 127 Temple No 17, Image No 106 (Partite-Jaṭā Class) — § 116

Fig 128 Image No. 108 (Patite-Jata Class / Ear Class) § 116

Fig 129 Temple No 15, Image No 111 (Partite Jaṭā Class) See also Fig 130 – § 117

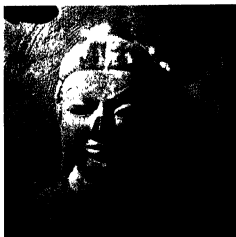



Fig 130 Image No 111 Cf Fig 129

Fig 131 Gwalior Fort, Jina § 132 Note

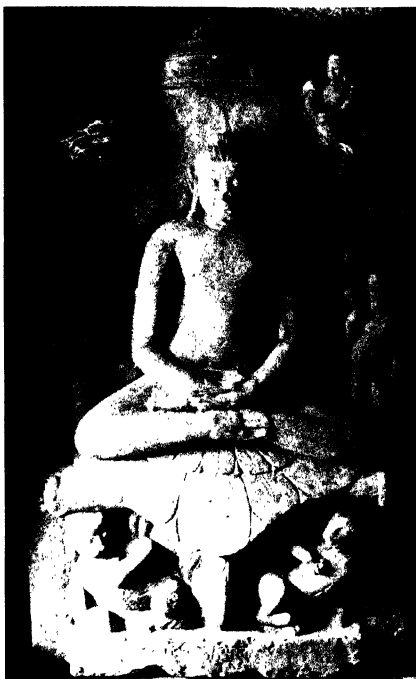



Fig. 132 Temple No. 8, Image No. 115 (Flat-Jaṭā Class) — § 119

Fig 133 Temple No 8, Image No 118 (Flat-Jaṭā Class) — § 120

Fig 134 Hall in front of Temple No 12, Images Nos 126 and 127 See for No 127 also Fig 363 § 121

Fig 135 Shrine No 12C, Image No 140 (§ 123)

Fig 136 Wall-Section X, Images Nos 136 and 137 (§ 122)

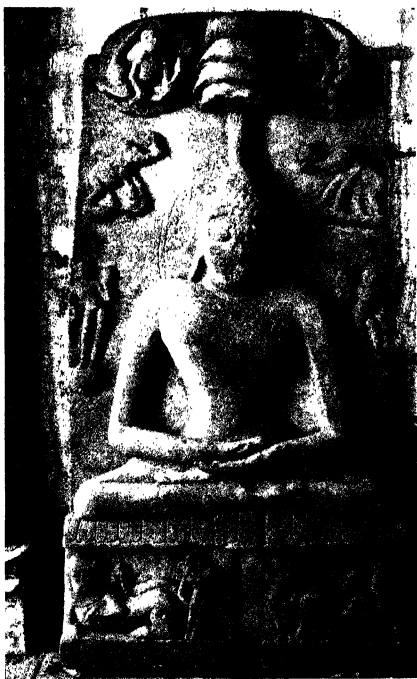



Fig 137 Temple No 9, Image No 138 (§ 123)

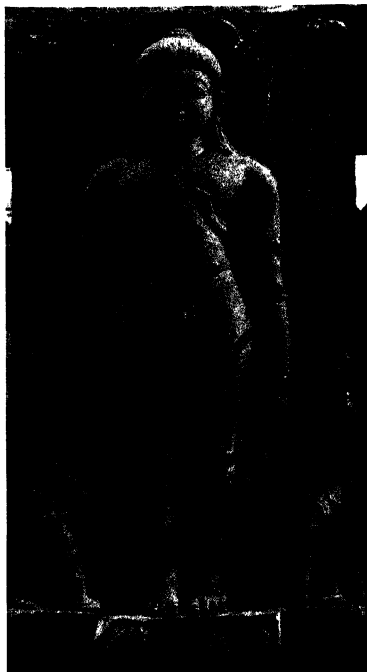



Fig 138. Hall in front of Temple No. 12, Image No. 139 showing Bāhubalin [now in the Dharmshala] — § 123

Fig 139 Hill in front of Temple No 12, Images Nos 143 and 142 — § 123

Fig 140 Temple No 15, Image No 146 (Throne Frame Class) – § 148

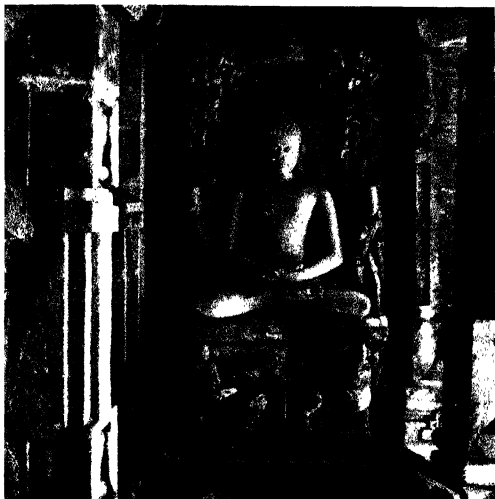



Fig 141 Temple No 15, Image No 147 (Throne Frame Class) — § 148

Figs. 142-143 Nos. 148a and b (probably forming one image) Throne-Frame Class § 148

Fig 144. Wall-Section XII, Image No 152 (Throne-Frame Class) § 149

Fig 145. Wall-Section XI, Image No 154 (Throne-Frame Class) § 150

Fig 146 Temple No 17, Image No 149 of the Throne-Frame Class [now in the Dharmshala] § 149

Fig 147 Chamber in the hall in front of Temple No 12, Image No 162 of the Class with Miniature Figures See also Fig 147A § 153

Fig 147A Image No 162 Cf Fig 147

Fig 147B Image No 164 (Class with Miniature Figures) § 153

Fig 148 Image No 161a (Class with Miniature Figures) See also Fig 149 ... 153

Fig 149 Images Nos 161b and 166b (Class with Miniature-Figures) See also Figs 148 and 150 ... 153 and 154

Fig 150 Image No 166a (Class with Miniature Figures)
See also Fig 149 § 154

Fig 151 Image No 168 (Class with Miniature-Figures) § 154

Fig. 152. Image No. 165 (Class with Miniature Figures) § 154

Fig. 153 Temple No. 8, Image No. 169 (Class with Miniature-Figures) § 155

Fig 154 Chamber to the hall in front of Temple No 12, Image No 170 (Class with Miniature-Figures) § 155

Fig 155 Temple No 15 with porch, three damaged 'sikhara-niches', and southern niche

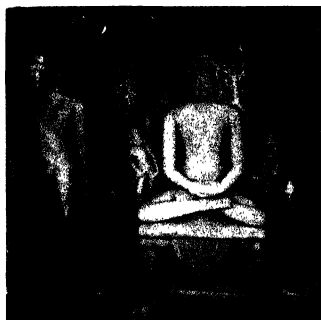



Fig 156. Temple No 15, northern niche, Images Nos 173 and 172 (Section of the Plain Images) – § 156

Fig 157 Temple No 15, eastern niche, Images Nos 176, 175 174 (Section of the Plain Images) See also Fig 159 (No 175) – § 156

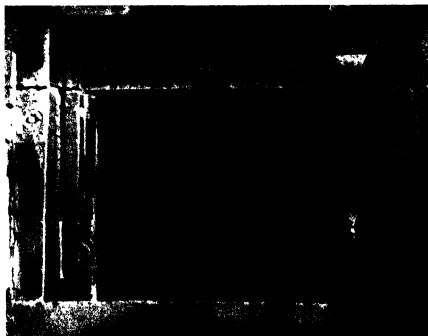



Fig 158 Temple No 15, southern niche, Images Nos 178 and 177 (Section of the Plain Images) See also Figs 160 (No 177) and 161 (No 179 old central image of the southern niche?) – § 156

Fig 159 Image No 175 — Cf Fig 157

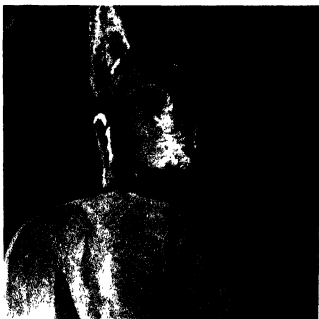



Fig 160 Image No 177 — Cf Fig 158

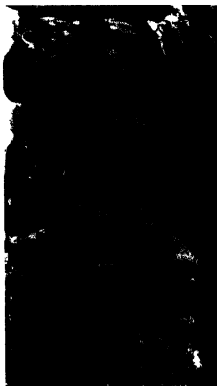



Fig 161 Wall-Section XVI, Image No 179 Cf Fig 158

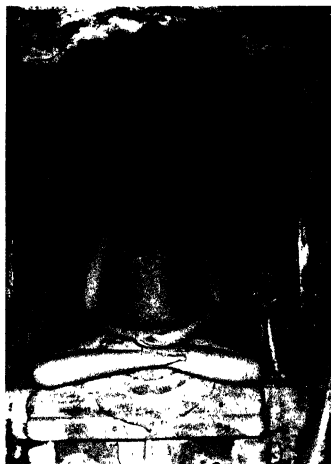



Fig 162 Temple No 6, Image No 180 (Section of the Plain Images) § 156

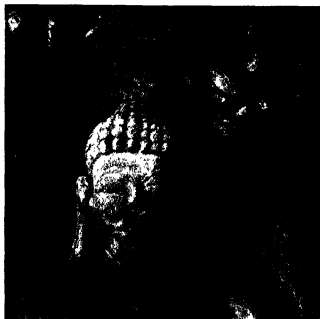



Fig 163 Temple No 12 G, Image No 181 (Section of the Plain Images) § 157

Fig 164 Temple No 14, Image No 182 (Section of the Plain Images) § 157

Fig 165 Temple No 12 G, Image No 184 (Section of the Plain Images) See also Fig 111 § 157

Fig 166 Temple No 12 G, Image No 183 (Section of the Plain Images) § 157

Fig 167 Temple No 24 A, Images Nos 187 and 188 (Section of the Plain Images) See also Fig 168 – §158

Fig. 168. Temple No. 24 A, Images Nos. 186, 187, 188 (Section of the Plain Images). See also Fig. 167 & 158

Fig. 169 Image No 189 (Section of the Plain Images) — § 158

Fig 170 Temple No 16, Image No 190 (Section of the Plain Images) § 158

Fig 171 Temple No 8, Image No 158 (Throne-Frame Class) — §§ 151 and 159

Fig 172 Temple No 8, Image No 191 (Section of the Plain Images) — § 159

Fig 173 Image No 192 See also Fig 148 — § 159

Figs. 174-175 Temple No 12 C, Image No 194, upper portion and left-hand cāmara-bearer (Section of the Plain Images) — § 159

Fig 176 Image No 193 (Section of the Plain Images) § 159

Fig 177. Temple No 14, Image No 195 (Section of the Plain Images) —§ 159

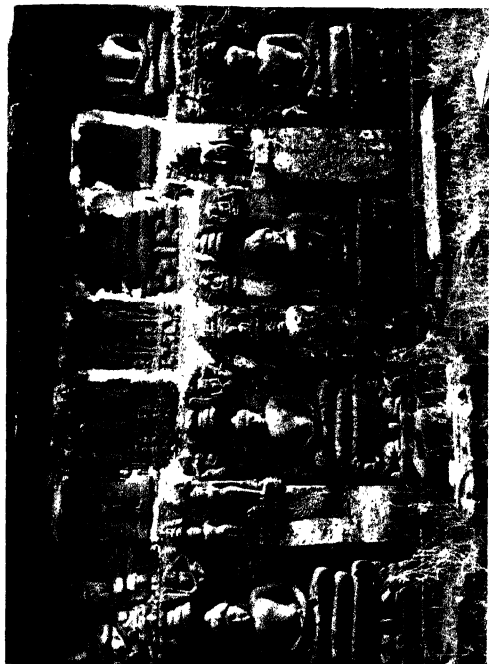



Fig 178. Wall-Section XV, Images Nos 196, 201, 197, 198 Section of the Late Images of the Drum-Leaf Style — SS 161 (Nos 196-198) and 162 (No 201)

Fig 179. Temple No 20, Image No 199 (Section of the Late Images of the Drum-Leaf Style) — § 161

Figs 180-180A Wall-Section VI, three unnumbered images of the Sacred Couple — § 161

Fig 183. Wall-Section IV, Image No 204 (Section of the Late Images of the Drum-Leaf Style) — P. 162

Fig 184 Wall-Section XII, Image No 210 (Section of the Late Images of the Drum-Leaf Style) — P. 162

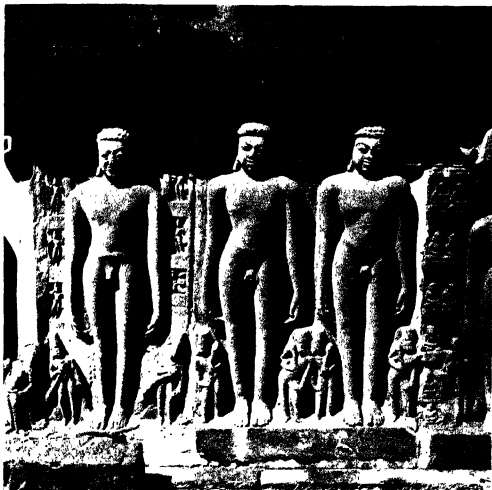



Fig 185 Wall Section XIII, Images Nos 221, 213 (double-image) and 222 (left portion only) Section of the Late Images of the Drum Leaf Style [illegible] 163

Fig 186. Temple No 8, Images Nos 133 and 217 (No 217 Section of the Late Images of the Drum-Beat Style) §§ 122 and 163

Fig. 187. Temple No. 15, Image No. 223 — § 174

Fig 188. Image No 224 § 174 [The next Fig bears the number "190"]

Fig 190 Image No 225 § 174

Fig 191. Image No 226 § 174

Fig 192. Temple No 2, Image 227 (Resting Class) samvat 1023 § 178

Fig. 194 Image No 231 (Resting Class) — § 180

Fig 193 Temple No 2, Image No 228 (Resting Class) samvat 1052 — § 178

Fig 195 Temple No. 2 Images Nos. 229 and 230 (Resting Class, Samvat 1051 (No. 229)) 179

Fig. 198. Temple No. 3, Image No. 23 (Resting Class). 183

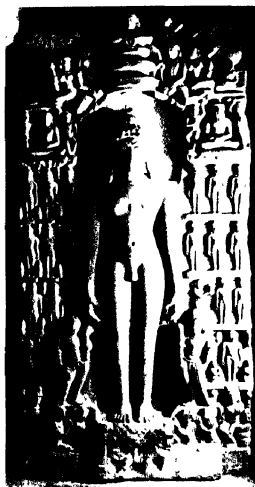



Fig. 199. Temple No. 21, Image No. 258 (Resting Class). See also Fig. 375-376. 183

Figs 200-201 Temple No. 21 Image No. 243 Restr. Class 185

Fig. 211. Temple No. 21. Image No. 251 (Ho[illegible] Class). See also frontispiece and Figs. 374, 377 and 379. 195, 196

Fig 212 Budhi Chanderi, Gallery, Image No. 252 (Hovering Class) — 195-196

Fig 213 Gold of Image No 253 (Hovering Class) See also Fig 213 A, 213 B and Fig 578 [illegible] 195 196

Figs. 213A and B Image No. 253. Cf. Fig. 213

Fig 215 Image No 255 (Hovering Class — c 195

Fig 214 Image No 254 (Hovering Class — c 195

Fig 216 Budhi Chanderi, Image No 256 (Hovering Class [illegible] 197

Fig 217 Budhi Chanderi, Image No 257 (Hovering Class) — [illegible] 197

Fig 218 Siron Khurd Image No 258 (Hovering Class) See also Figs 372 373 – , 197

Fig 219 Temple No 3 Images Nos 262 and 260 (Hovering Class) 198

Fig 220 Temple No 19 Image No 266 (Hovering Class) [illegible] 199

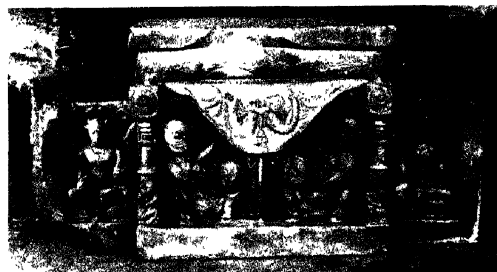



Fig 221 Temple No 19 Image No 268 (Hovering Class) [illegible] 199

Fig 222 Temple No 2 Image No 269 (Flowering Class) 200

Fig 223 Temple No 8 Image No 270 (Flowering Class) c 200

Fig 224 Temple No 11, Image No 271 (Hovering Class ... c 200

Fig 225 Temple No 17 Images Nos 275 (Ho[illegible] Class) and 281 (Neat Class) See also Fig 226 No 281 [illegible] 201 and 210

Fig 226 Image No 281 — Cf Fig 225

Fig 227 Golakot Cakresvari image (Hovering Class) 194

Fig 228 Temple No 28 Image No 277 (New Class) 208 209

Fig 229 Temple No 28 Image No 278 (New Class) pp 208 209

Fig 230 Temple No 28 Image No 279 (New Class) See also Fig 230A — 208-209

Fig 230A Image No 279 Cf Fig 230

Fig 230 B Gudu, seated Jina-image - 207

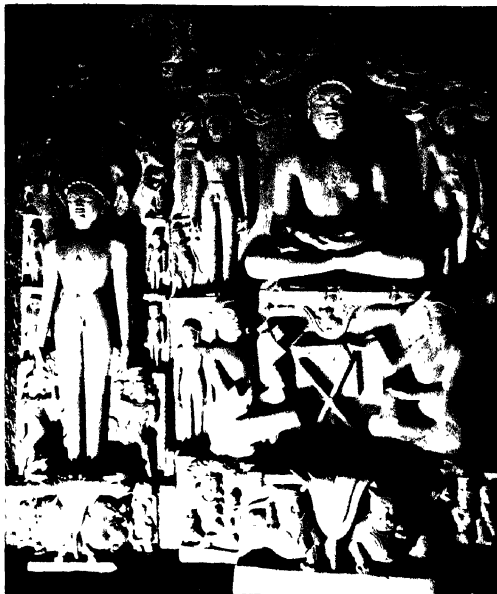



Fig. 231 Temple No. 4, Images Nos. 280 and 300 (New Class). See also Figs. 232 and 233 ... 210 and 214

Fig 232 Images Nos 280 and 300 Cf Fig 231

Fig 233 Image No 300 Cf Fig 231

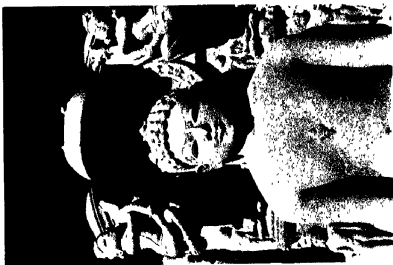
Fig 234 Wall Section IV, Image No. 289 (New Class) — [illegible] 210

Figs 235-236 Wall Section XII, Image No. 287 (New Class) — [illegible] 210

Fig 237 Temple No 20, Image No 291 (New Class) Samvat 1135 [illegible] 211

Fig 238 Temple No 25 Image No 296 (New Class) [illegible] 212

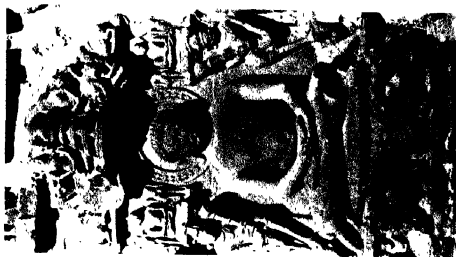



Fig 239A Wall-Section VII, Image No 299 (New Class — ? 213

Fig 239 Wall-Section V Image No 298 (New Class — 213

Fig 240 Temple No 2, Image No 297 (New Class) 213

Fig 241 Temple No 11 Image No 301 (New Class) samvat 1105 See also Fig 242 215

Fig 242 Image No 301 Cf Fig 241

Fig 243 Image No. 296A (New Class ... F 212

Fig. 244 Temple No. 19, Image No. 302 (now in the Dharmshala). See also Fig. 255. Chapter 14 and § 243.

Fig 245 Pallu Garland Bearer Sarasvati — Cf Fig 244A

Fig 246 Pallu Double Leaf Sarasvati 218 and 220

Fig 247 Terrace N 15 Image N 303 samvat 1126 – Chapter 14 and F 244

Fig 248 Temple No 19, Image No 304 [now in the Dharmshala] Chapter 14 and 245

Fig 249 Temple No 12 outer door jamb to the right samvat 1133 [illegible] 218 and 221

Fig 250 Temple No. 19 Image No. 305 [now in the Dharmshala] Chapter 14 and 245

Fig 251 Naresar, Visnu image, samvat 1245 — pp 218 and 225

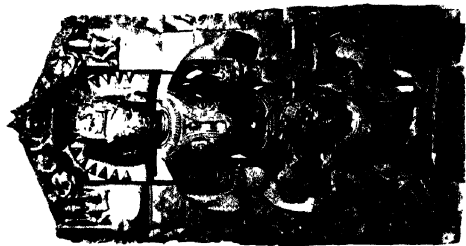



Fig 252 Bhilsa Visnu-image, samvat 1242 — pp 218 222-23, 225

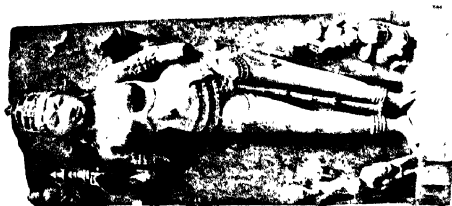



Fig 255 Image No 302 Cf Fig 244

Fig 255A Image No 306 Cf Fig 256

Fig 256 Temple No 19 Image No 306 [now in the Dharmsh l] See also Fig 255A — Chapter 14 and § 245

Fig 257 Temple No 3 Image No 307 (Geometrical Class) samvat 1207 or 1209 227

Fig 258 Temple No 25 Image No 311 (Geometrical Class) 227

Fig. 259. Temple No. 26, Image No. 312 (Geometrical Class) 227

Fig. 260. Temple No. 6, a typical Pārśva image [not numbered] 233

Figs 261-62 Temple No 3 Image No 514 (Geometrical Class), head of the Jina and portion of the throne 228

Fig 263 Temple No 31 Image No 319 (Geometrical Class) [illegible] 229

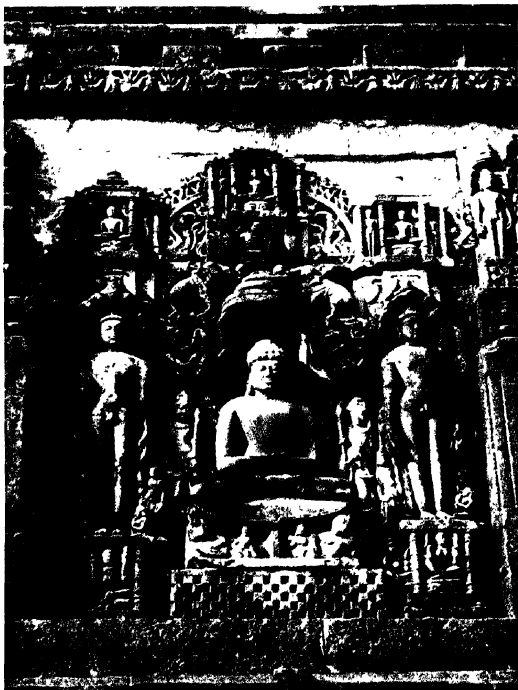



Fig 264 Temple No 28, sukanasa with Image No 159A (C 151) and fragmentary tritirthika (C 231)

Fig 265 Wall, early-medieval caumukha with projecting figures — ¶¶ 19 and 232

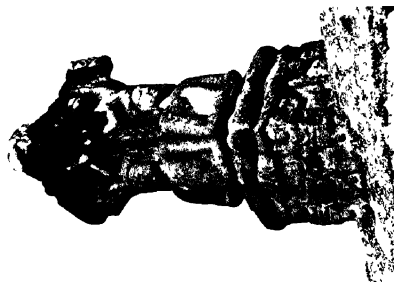



Fig 266 Wall, medieval caumukha with figures in countersunk panels — ¶¶ 19 and 232

Fig 268 Portico (see Fig 5) close-up of front pillar showing panel with Bahubalin 232

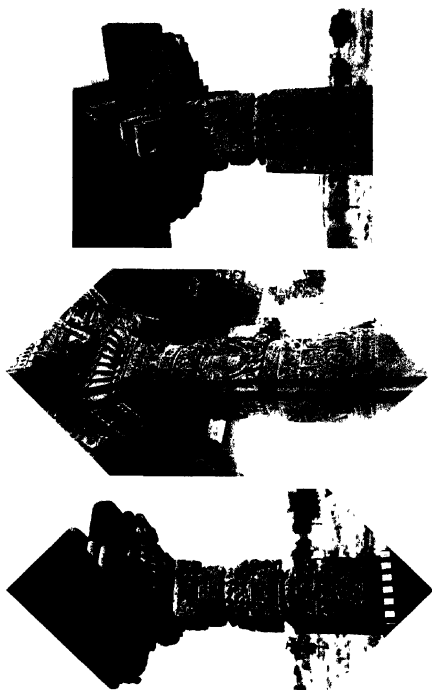
Fig 267 Left hand pillar in front of Temple No 18 samvat 1121 232 and 248

Fig 269 Temple No 4, porch pillar to the left samvat 1207 See p 45 and 232

Fig 270 Temple No 11 ācārya-image saṃvat 1333 — § 235

Fig 271 Berlin, Jina-image — § 235

Figs 280-282 Three Vamanas as Devangana, Braj Mathura – 272

Figs 283-285 Gwalior, Teli-ka mandir, section of the front wall to the right of the main entrance — "Buddha from Sarnath", decorative motifs — Osia, Agni-image on the outer wall of one of the Hindu temples c 284

Figs 293-295 Osia temple with carved mandapa, three pillars of mandapa — § 284

DRAWINGS

(Figs. 296 - 394)[1]

[1] Refer also to § 336 (Acknowledgements)

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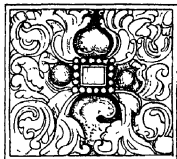
297

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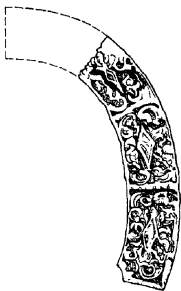
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Figs. 296-299

EARLY FORMS OF THE COMPOSITE FRIEZE (§ 10)

Fig 296 Deogarh, Gupta temple, right outer wall, pilaster to the left of the niche, oblong panel below the Ganeśa-medallion
Fig 297 Gwalior Fort, Telī-kā-mandir, outer wall to the left, section to the left of western doorway, decorative panel above wall-figure
Fig 298 Sarnath, Bodhisattva, frieze running along the outer edge of the bhāmandala (which is otherwise plain)
Fig 299 Gyaraspur, pond called Manasarovar, remains of a shrine by the pond, frieze covering the door-frame (jambs and lintel), lower section of the jamb to the right

In the first three cases we can clearly distinguish between the jewel-motifs and the floral motifs In the last case the frieze is mainly formed by floral motifs (scroll-work) and geometrical motifs (lozenges = transformed jewel-motifs), while untransformed jewel-motifs (four small pearls with a big pearl in the centre) are hardly visible between the lozenges In the remaining portion of this frieze the jewel-motif (five pearls) is not prominent either but it is more distinct For a still later development compare the bhāmandala of the Large Śānti (Figs 7 A and 394) — See § 52

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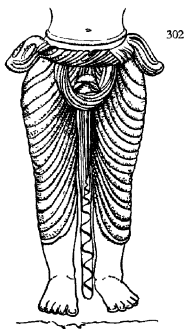
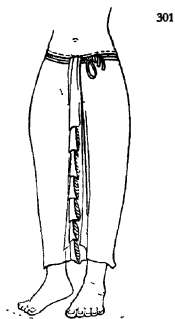
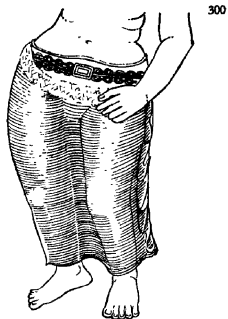

Figs. 300-303

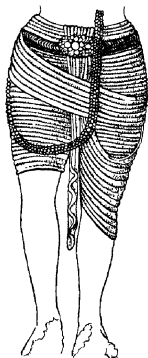
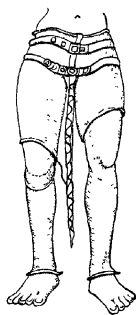
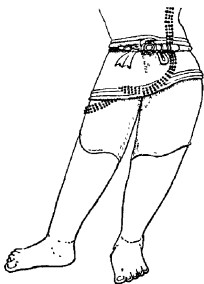
VIKACCH DHOTĪ AND SAKACCH DHOTĪ[1]

Fig 300. Temple at Paharpur, re-used slab built in the base of the structure Cf J E VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW, *Antiquity and Survival*, Vol II (1957), pp 29 foll
Fig 301 Aurangabad, Cave 8, hall, rear-wall, extreme left Avalokiteśvara
Fig 302 Samalaji, Śiva with Nandi
Fig 303: Akota, bronze tritīrthikā, standing Jina to the left

Fig 300 shows the vi-kacch dhotī which always looks like a skirt The dhotī is wrapped round the body (anti-clockwise here) The end of the dhotī is gathered and tugged up on the side (on the left side here)

Figs 301-303 show the sa-kacch dhotī In this case, *both* ends are tugged up, one in front ("end I") and one at the back ("end II") — Fig 301· One end of the dhotī is tugged up at the back The other end (end I) is gathered up diagonally and laid in position in front, its upper part is tugged up over the belt The upper *hem of the dhotī* is not indicated — Fig 302. Sakacch dhotī as in Fig 301 The belt is replaced by a twisted scarf The *end* of the upper part of end I is turned outside to form a swallow-tail, and this is thrust below the twisted scarf The connection between this lappet (swallow-tail) and the rest of the dhotī should have been indicated above the twisted scarf This time the upper hem of the dhotī is indicated — Fig 303 Local standard formula for a simplified rendering of the sakacch dhotī

Figs 300-303 form a supplement to §§ 53-56 and 59 For a description of the relevant Deogarh images compare these paragraphs

[1]) Here and elsewhere the explanations of the dress were suggested by my wife

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Figs. 304-307

THE SHORT SAKACCH DHOTĪ

Fig 304 Sirpur, Laksmana Temple, Visnu
Fig 305 Kurkihar, Bronze image of Avalokiteśvara
Fig 306 Paharpur, re-used slab (cf Fig 300), Krṣna killing a demon
Fig 307 Indor, Gargaj Mahādeva-temple, wall-figure (Indra)

The Figs show the range of variation in the rendering of the short sakacch dhotī An explanation of the forms cannot be attempted here -- Supplement to §§ 53-56

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Figs. 308-311

DIFFERENT MODES OF FASTENING THE KATISŪTRA

Fig 308 Deogarh, Gupta temple, right-hand outer wall, Anantaśayana-panel, Garuda
Fig 309 Akota, bronze image of the 1st Jina Rsabha
Fig 310 Paharpur, re-used slab (cf Fig 300), Indra
Fig 311. Deogarh, Museum near the Gupta temple, image of Krsna Govardhanadhara

The katisūtra can be fastened with clasp (panels to the right) or without clasp (panels to the left) Again the ends may be joined with a loop (upper panels) or without a loop (lower panels) The loop can always be recognized by its typical parallel ends — In the case of Fig 310, the katisūtra is merely decorative, as the dhotī is actually secured by a belt formed by several chains — § 53

Figs. 312-313

TWO FORMULAS FOR THE RENDERING OF THE CELESTIAL COUPLE (GARLAND-BEARING COUPLE ETC.)

Fig 312 Sondni (near Mandasor), isolated slab
Fig 313 Badami, Cave no 1, ceiling medallion

We use the terms "Sondni-formula" and "Badami-formula" to distinguish between the hovering and the crouching position of the female of the garland-bearing couple Normally, the Deogarh artists employed the Badami-formula

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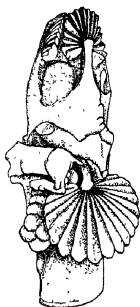
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Figs. 314-316

EARLY FORMS OF THE PALMYRA-MOTIF

Fig 314 Pawaya, "palmyra-capital" (here used in the sense of a rich palmyra-motif, serving as the crowning member of a free standing pillar) This is one out of two "palmyra-capitals" kept in the Gwalior Museum

Fig 315 Deogarh, Gupta temple, roll-moulding bordering the door-frame on its outer side

Fig 316 Bhumara, lintel of the mandapa

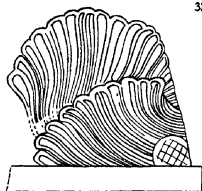
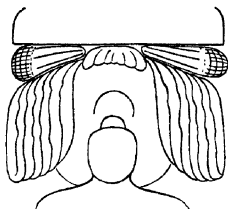
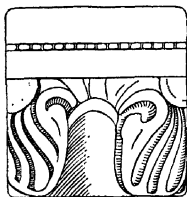
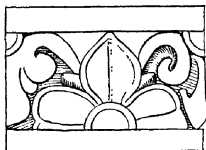
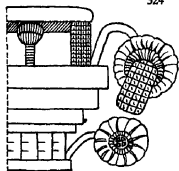
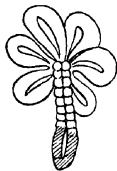
Figs. 317-319

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PALMYRA-CAPITAL (*to be continued on p 471*)

Fig 317 Mahua, Larger Śiva Temple, rear-wall, pilaster to the right of the śikhara-niche, corbel-cross

Fig 318 Deogarh, Temple No 12, porch, second pillar from right, corbel-cross

Fig 319 Deogarh, Temple No 15, main-room, south-east pillar, northern face of the capital

For a realistic rendering of two palmyra-palms refer to COOMARASWAMY, *Bharhut*, Fig 81 In Figs 314-316 the rendering of the leaves is fairly uniform, whereas the additional elements (fruits, flowers) differ in all three cases Suffice it to say that the globular element of Fig 316 appears invariably in the upper corners of the true palmyra-capitals (Figs 317-18 and 322-23, but *not* 319) The development is characterized by the gradual reduction of the globular element and by the introduction of a central motif which serves as a sort of support for the foliage In Figs 318-319 and 323 the central motif consists of a lozenge-shaped stylized flower, of which the upper half (or slightly more) is represented

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Figs. 320-21

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PALMYRA DOUBLE-LEAF

Fig. 320. Bhumara, architectural fragment
Fig 321: Gwalior Fort, Caumukha

The globular element of Fig 320 is still prominent in Fig 321 It is further reduced in the case of the double-leaves of the Large Śānti (Fig 8A) and has disappeared almost completely in the main idol of Temple No 15 (Fig 31) All the double-leaves at Deogarh (except that of Fig 243) can be derived from a formula similar to that of Fig 321. — See §§ 57, 260 and 270 (foot-note)

Figs. 322-323

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PALMYRA-CAPITAL (*Figs 317-19 continued*)

Fig 322. Deogarh, Image No 1, panel 7 (see Fig 8)
Fig 323· Deogarh, Image No 13, corbel-cross in the upper section of the pillar composition to the right (see Fig 30)

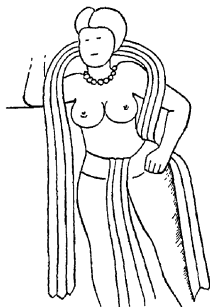
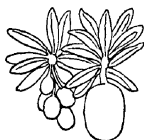
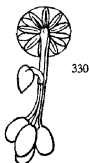
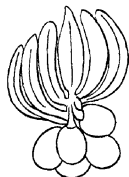
Both motifs are more stylized than those of Figs 317-18, and the globular element is merely indicated by quadrants appearing in the upper corners of the panel (in Fig 319 it was missing completely) The central motif of Fig 322 is not a lozenge-shaped flower but it resembles the kalaśa-portion of the pūrnakalaśa-motif The motifs of Figs 322-323 as well as of Fig 319 are later than those of Figs 317-318

Figs. 324-326

THE ORIGIN OF THE DOUBLE-ROSETTE

Fig 324 Bharhut, railing of the stūpa, south-east quadrant, northern-most intercolumnation, outer face of the top-most cross-beam
Fig 325 Sanchi, Stūpa no 1, "fragment from one of the small brackets between the projecting ends of the gateway architraves"
Fig 326· Akota, bronze image of Ambikā, motif appearing to the left and to the right of the miniature-Jina above the head of the goddess

The three Figs demonstrate five interrelated motifs
(1) Simple double-rosette (Fig 324 bottom)
(2) Double-rosette with garland-like appendix (Fig 324, centre)
(3) True garland (in this case parasol-garland) Fig 324, top
(4) Digitate leaf with garland-like appendix as part of a fully fledged tree-top (Fig 325) For renderings of the same or related species refer to MARSHALL-FOUCHER, *Sāñchī*, Vol II, 50a1 and 11,2
(5) Double-rosette with garland-like appendix (Fig 326)

Both the history of the double-rosette as such and the history of the rosette with garland-like appendix deserve closer study For further references see § 57

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Figs. 327-328

TWO DUPAṬṬĀ-FORMULAS

Fig 327 Mathura, Kankali Tila, fragment of a frieze-slab.
Fig 328. Akota, female figure (bronze)

Supplement to § 59 (*dupattā*)

Figs. 329-332

THE BUNCH OF MANGOES (FOUR FORMULAS)

Fig 329 Ellora, Cave 33, upper storey, veranda, right end (if the cave is viewed from the courtyard), Ambikā Ambikā's partner is represented at the *left* end of the veranda
Fig 330 Dilwara (Mt Abu), Vimala Vasahi, triangular panel with Ambikā in its centre
Fig 331 Sanchi, Stūpa I, western gateway, south pillar, inner face, bottom panel showing a warrior The present mango-bunch is isolated from a mango-tree depicted behind the warrior
Fig 332 Akota, bronze image of the Jina Rsabha, Ambikā (Ambikā is represented on the right, her partner on the left)

The two formulas to the left are fairly realistic, whereas those to the right show the influence of other hand-attributes (Fig 330 lotus and cakra, Fig 332 noose) Refer also to Figs 386-87
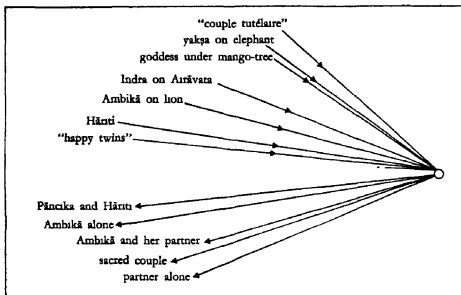
Fig. 333

A SEMI-HISTORICAL SCHEME FOR THE "SACRED COUPLE" AND RELATED MOTIFS

Only the structure of the scheme is under consideration Bibliographic references could therefore be dispensed with As indicated in § 317 the interrelation of the motifs often becomes so involved that it is difficult to establish a pedigree In such a case it is advisable to employ an "adjusted" scheme (which says just as much as *can* be said) Here (and in Fig 361) we have distinguished between a *layer of prototypes* and a *layer of types* The first layer forms a sort of "pool" from which the material for the second layer is derived — The expression "happy twins" refers to the literary motif

Figs. 334-337 ➤

THE PARASOL (SLANTING AND UPRIGHT)

Fig 334 Mathura, Āyāgapata dedicated by Āmohinī (see *Ep Ind* X, no 59 of Luders' List)
Fig 335 Aihole, Jain Cave, image of Pārśva
Fig. 336. Calcutta, Indian Museum, Buddha
Fig 337. Pagan, Ānanda-temple, inner gallery, Bodhisattva

Figs 335-337 show compromises between the slanting and the upright parasol The stick follows the first formula and the top follows the second Fig 334 is probably an uncontaminated rendering of the slanting parasol although the parasol-top is not tilted sufficiently Fig 335 shows one of the earliest examples of the atypical attendant-figures depicted in many Pārśva-images (§ 14)

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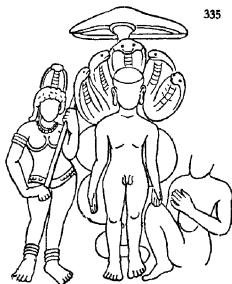
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Figs. 338-341

PĀRŚVA WITH TWO SNAKES

Fig. 338: Vasantagarh, bronze image of Pārśva
Fig 339. Akota, bronze image of Pārśva
Fig 340. Deogarh, Wall-Section IV, Image No 211 (§ 162)
Fig 341: Rajgir, image of Pārśva

The fact that the presence of *two* snakes was rendered by more than one formula (Fig 338 - Fig 340 - Fig 341) shows the relative popularity of the motif In Fig 339 the formula is the same as in Fig 338, but it is slightly changed so that we see *one* snake, framing the body of the Jina, instead of two Similarly the snake-motif of the Double-Snake Group (§ 78, *hood-circle*) is a 'corrected' rendering of a formula similar to those seen in Figs 338 and 341 But in contrast to Fig 339 the presence of but one snake has not been established in an unequivocal manner in the case of the Double-Snake Group The viewer gets the impression that *two* snake-bodies are represented — Apparently the double-snake was one out of several motifs which were relatively popular in Jain art but did not always meet with the approval of the responsible authorities (§ 190) Refer also to SHAH, *Akota*, 17b

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Figs. 338-341

PĀRŚVA WITH TWO SNAKES

Fig 338: Vasantagarh, bronze image of Pārśva.
Fig 339 Akota, bronze image of Pārśva
Fig 340· Deogarh, Wall-Section IV, Image No 211 (§ 162)
Fig 341· Rajgir, image of Pārśva

The fact that the presence of *two* snakes was rendered by more than one formula (Fig 338 - Fig 340 - Fig 341) shows the relative popularity of the motif In Fig 339 the formula is the same as in Fig 338, but it is slightly changed so that we see *one* snake, framing the body of the Jina, instead of two Similarly the snake-motif of the Double-Snake Group (§ 78, *hood-circle*) is a 'corrected' rendering of a formula similar to those seen in Figs 338 and 341 But in contrast to Fig 339 the presence of but one snake has not been established in an unequivocal manner in the case of the Double-Snake Group The viewer gets the impression that *two* snake-bodies are represented — Apparently the double-snake was one out of several motifs which were relatively popular in Jain art but did not always meet with the approval of the responsible authorities (§ 190) Refer also to SHAH, *Akota*, 17b

Fig. 342

The Yakṣī-Names on the Śikhara-Niches of Temple No 12 (Chapter 8)

Figs. 343-346

Realistic Renderings of the Unplaited Strands [Supplement to § 130]

Fig 343. Mathura, Kankali Tila, image of Rsabha
Fig. 344. Mathura, Head of Śiva-image (?)
Fig. 345 Sravana Belgola, bronze image of Bāhubalin
Fig 346: Back view of the Bāhubalin of Fig 345

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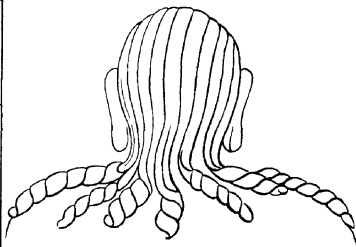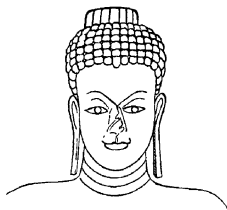
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Figs. 347-350

THE UNPLAITED STRANDS (FURTHER MATERIAL)

Fig 347 Deogarh, pradakṣinapatha of Temple No 12, Image No. 24 (§ 101)
Fig 348 *Ibidem*, Image No 23 (Fig 274, § 101)
Fig 349 *Ibidem*, Image No 35 (Fig 81, § 102)
Fig 350 *Ibidem*, Image No 31 (§ 102)

The strands of Fig 347 follow the original formula. The lateral strands are missing however and an "usnīsa" has been added A comparison of Fig 348 (or rather of Fig 274) with Fig 347 demonstrates the tendency to arrange the curls in vertical rows As a consequence the rendering of the hair is fairly similar on the closely related Images Nos 23 and 24, one being a "curl-image" and the other a "strand-image". See § 130 Figs 349-50 show transformations of the original formula

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Figs. 351-353

THE SIMPLE JAṬĀ AND ITS TRANSFORMATIONS

Fig 351 Butkara (Mingora), slab showing two ascetics
Fig 352· *Ibidem*, slab showing the Buddha
Fig 353 Taxila, Dharmarājikā Stūpa, slab showing the Buddha and other figures

The three formulas are related and they possibly form a sequence (353 more stylized than 352, and 352 more stylized than 351) However the manner in which the "hairs" are rendered in Fig. 353 indicates Western influences — In the context of the description of the Deogarh material, a distinction between the "simple jaṭā" (Fig 351) and the "complex jaṭā" (Fig 355) seemed to be unnecessary, as the "simple jaṭā" was nowhere in evidence

Fig. 354

AN ANALOGOUS DEVELOPMENT

Fig 354: Fort Gwalior, Jina-image (Fig 131, § 132)

The strands of Fig 354 have been transformed into hair-like streaks This affords a parallel to Fig 353 although the background of the formula of Fig 354 is not exactly the same (Fig 354 has to be viewed in the context supplied by Fig 361)

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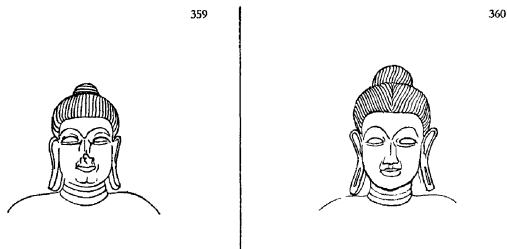
Figs. 355-357

THE COMPLEX JATĀ AND ITS TRANSFORMATIONS

Fig 355: Mahabalipuram, Descent of the River Gangā, head of a flying ascetic.
Fig 356 Sarnath Museum, head of a Śaiva image.
Fig 357 Deogarh, Temple No 16, Image No. 74 (Fig 97, § 110)

The three specimens show the standard forms of the "realistic", "hybrid" and "reduced" jatās (§ 131) The jatā of Fig. 357 is topped with an usnīsa-lotus (§ 128)

For Fig 358 see p 486

Figs. 358-360

THE SMOOTH JATĀ (DIFFERENCES IN THE PATTERN OF THE STRANDS)

Fig. 358 (*p* *484*)· Akota, bronze image of Pārśva
Fig 359: Deogarh, Temple No. 13, Image No 60 (Fig 93 and § 108)
Fig 360: Deogarh, Temple No 13, Image No 58 (§ 108)

Semicircular type, striped type, herring-bone type See § 132 and Fig 361 below

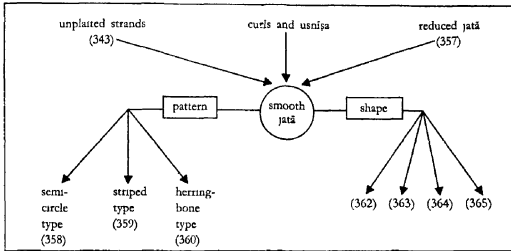



Fig. 361

A SEMI-HISTORICAL SCHEME FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SMOOTH JAṬĀ

For the motif refer to § 132 The method has been explained in connection with the analogous scheme of Fig. 333.

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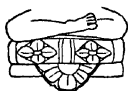
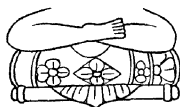
Figs. 362-365

THE SMOOTH JAṬĀ (DIFFERENCES IN ITS SHAPE)

Fig 362 Deogarh, Temple No 17, Image No 99 (§ 114)
Fig 363. Deogarh, Chamber in the hall in front of Temple No 12, Image No 127 (Fig 134 and § 121)
Fig 364· Deogarh, Temple No 8, Image No 115 (Fig 132 and § 119)
Fig 365· Deogarh, Wall-Section XIV, Image No 84 (Fig 108 and § 111)

Partite jaṭā (§ 115), peaked jaṭā (§ 121), flat jaṭā (§ 118), and jaṭā of Image No 84 (§ 132, last sentence). — See § 132 and Fig. 361

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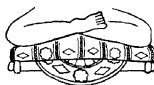
Figs. 366-371

OBSERVATIONS ON SIMILAR ELEMENTS – THE THRONE-TOP IN THE DRUM-LEAF STYLE

Fig. 366. Deogarh, Wall-Section XIV, Image No 207 (§ 162)
Fig 367. Deogarh, Wall-Section XV, Jina-image (no number).
Fig 368 Deogarh, Wall-Section XVI, Jina-image (no number)
Fig. 369· Deogarh, Wall-Section XV, Jina-image (no number)
Fig 370· Deogarh, Wall-Section XV, Jina-image (no number)
Fig 371. Deogarh, Wall-Section XVI, Image No 179 (Fig 161, § 156)

The first five drawings show images belonging to the Section of the Late Images of the Drum-Leaf Style, while the sixth image belongs to the Section of the Plain Images of that style. The images of Figs 367-369 are loosely connected with the Images Nos 196-197-200 (§ 161) — The six drawings demonstrate a type of variation where the differences can be overlooked on account of the *similarity* of the elements In the case of Figs 372-379 the variation could be overlooked on account of the *small size* of the elements The impression of similarity is to some extent lost in the drawings There, all lines are equally thick whereas in reality the lines of the design (lotus-petals etc) are often so thin that they can hardly be recognized As the elements are partly characterized *by their design*, it is of some importance whether the design is distinct or not — The elements represented are the following

Fig 366 Throne-bar, *lotus-blanket*, cushion The second element combines the design of a lotus with the shape of the throne-blanket
Fig 367 Throne-bar, seat-lotus, cushion, *cushion-blanket* This cushion-blanket rests on the cushion (cf Fig 29) whereas the normal throne-blanket rests on the throne-bar. The design follows the type normally found on the cushion itself
Fig 368 Throne-bar, seat-lotus, cushion
Fig 369· "Throne-bar", seat-lotus The element described as "throne-bar" could just as well be regarded as a cushion
Fig 370 Throne-bar, seat-lotus, cushion, cushion-lotus The cushion is unusually thick (especially if compared with that in the next drawing) and the cushion-lotus is reduced to a semicircle
Fig 371· Throne-bar, throne-blanket, cushion

Although the six images are not very spirited, more than one term has to be employed to characterize the deviations from what could be called the standard type The borders between lotus and blanket (see especially Fig 366), between bar and cushion (Figs 368-69), between blanket-design and cushion-design (Fig 367) are *blurred* Fig 370 is an instance of *incision* as well as of the tendency to create variety by a deliberate *change of the normal proportions* The main reason for the difficulty to recognize at a glance the differences between various throne-tops cannot be found in the occasional transformations, however Differentiation is difficult because the repertoire for the throne-top includes two *band-like* elements (bar and cushion) as well as four *segmental* elements (seat-lotus, throne-blanket, cushion-lotus, cushion-blanket) Out of these six elements any number between one and six could be represented See § 165

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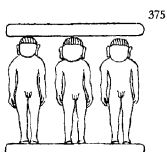
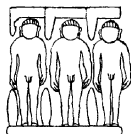
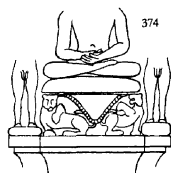
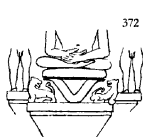

Figs. 372-379

Observations on Small Elements – Miscellaneous Examples from the High-Relief Style (Four Images)

258 → Fig 372 Siron Khurd, *Image No 258*, lower miniature-tritīrthikā to the left (see also Fig 218!) § 197

258 → Fig 373 See Fig 372 Lower miniature-tritīrthikā to the right

251 → Fig 374 Temple No 21, *Image No 251*, miniature-tritīrthikā to the right (= Fig 211) §§ 195-96

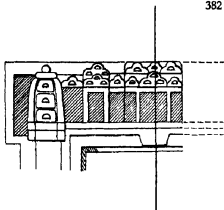
238 → Fig 375 · Temple No 21, *Image No 238*, three standing miniature-Jinas from the left lateral zone and three from the right lateral zone (= Fig 199) § 183

238 → Fig 376 See Fig 375 Miniature-image at head-level to the left — The miniature-image is well preserved but the cāmara of the left-hand cāmara-bearer was not distinct in the photo

251 → Fig 377 See Fig 374 Support of the cāmara-bearer to the right

253 → Fig 378 Golakot, *Image No 253*, support of the cāmara-bearer to the right (= Fig 213) §§ 195-96

251 → Fig 379 See Fig 374 Portion of the throne-blanket

In *Image No 258* the two lower miniature-tritīrthikās show two different formulas of the throne-blanket the old broad blanket to the left, and the narrow blanket (typical of the Hovering Class etc) to the right (Figs 372 373, Fig 218) See § 196 end — In *Image No 251* the standing Jinas of both miniature-tritīrthikās are supported by cushions (Fig 374) See § 203 The cāmara-bearers of the same image stand on single lotuses while those of *Image No* 253 stand on double-lotuses (Figs 377. 378) See § 203 The festoons on the throne-blanket of Image No 251 show two instances of variation (Fig 379) · a true bell at the bottom and transformed bells at the top, again a bell in the centre and darts on either side See § 196 — In *Image No 238*, the standing miniature-Jinas to the left are provided with vegetable motifs (double-leaf, lotus-node) whereas those to the right are not (Fig 375) See § 189 The tritīrthikās of the same image show the triple lotus (Fig 376) See § 189 For Figs 374, 375 (left), 376 the reader is also referred to §§ 190 and 261

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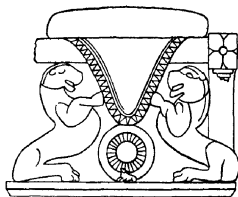

Figs. 380-381

Lotus-Support and Lotus-Node

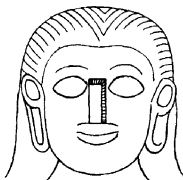
Fig 380: British Museum, Ambikā
Fig 381: Padhavli, panel showing Śiva's marriage, partial motif to the left (Indra-on-Airāvata supported by a lotus).

The elephant Airāvata is shown on a lotus-support like an abhiseka-elephant (see p 87) The river-goddess at the bottom stands on a lotus emerging from the same rhizome, but she has no connection with Indra — Both lotus-motifs (Figs 380-81, see arrows) show the lotus-*node* of § 13 The lotus-node is either part of a vegetable motif (*Khajuraho* p 29 lotus-composition) or it is independent in the sense that the rest of the motif is stunted (Fig 250) The independent lotus-node is subject to various transformations (reduction Fig 375, elaboration *Khajuraho* p 30, Fig 4) In the present drawings the lotus-nodes are parts of vegetable motifs

Figs. 382-383

Miscellaneous

Fig 382: Gwalior Fort, Caturbhuja-temple (samvat 932), left half of the door-lintel
Fig 383 Budhi Chanderi, Rsabha-temple, pedestal of a Jina-image

The Caturbhuja-temple has been mentioned repeatedly (pp 36,62,87,213-214) — Fig 383 shows the pedestal of one out of two related Jina-images which stand side by side In both cases the dharmacakra is shown face-on and not edge-on See § 67 The tiny cihna (deer?) before the dharmacakra should also be noted

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Figs. 384-389

"PARALLELS" (§ 284)

Fig 384 Deogarh, Temple No 12, wall-figure no 1 (= Fig 52)
Fig 385 Pallu (Bikaner), Garland-Bearer Sarasvatī (= Fig 244A)
Fig 386 Deogarh, Temple No 12, Image No 4 (= Fig 15)
Fig 387 Ellora, Cave 33, Ambikā (= Fig 329)
Fig 388 Charchoma (Dt Kotah), one out of four heads on a caturmukhalinga
Fig 389 Pathari, Jain compound, head of a colossal Rsabha-image standing in one of the temples

Figs 384 and 385 show a particular formula (book-gesture of § 13) in almost identical form, although the two images are removed from one another in space and time - In Figs 386 and 387 it is more difficult to establish the identity of the two formulas The *lower* motifs of Fig 386 can be derived from the left-hand motif of Fig 387 This becomes clear from Fig 15 The bunch of mangoes in the right hand of the goddess is a transformation of the left-hand motif of Fig 387, and the indistinct lower motifs of the tree-top are in their turn identical with the rendering of the bunch The two circular or globular elements to the *upper left* of Fig 386 may represent two mangoes It is however also possible that the upper element is the mango-leaf disk of § 13 (cf Fig 330) In this case, the two round elements of Fig 386 would correspond respectively to the leaves and to the fruit of the right-hand motif of Fig 387 (so that the parallelism of Fig 386 and Fig 387 would be complete) See also § 60 — The similarity between Figs 388 and 389 lies in the uncouth rendering of the face and in the wide-open eyes See also § 272

LIST OF MOTIFS

Early-Medieval Jina-Images at Deogarh

THRONE | main-figure | lateral zones | parikara-top | makara-torana

Throne

THRONE-TOP | lions and dharmacakra | throne-legs | cihna

Throne-Top

SEAT-LOTUS or blanket | bar | cushion | cushion-lotus | blanket on cushion | festoons

GUIDE TO FORMULAS

Seat-Lotus

STYLIZED | realistic (Fig 376)

Stylized

BLANKET-TYPE | other types (Fig 137)

Blanket-Type
— I —

single leaf-circlet (*No* 197) | twofold or threefold leaf-circlet (Fig 191)

Blanket-Type
— II —

triangular (Fig 132) | segmental (Fig 191)

Blanket-Type
— III —

pointed (*No* 197) | round (Fig 191)

Fig. 389A

LIST OF MOTIFS AND GUIDE TO FORMULAS

See § 276 -- The term "blanket-type" is more general than the term "lotus-blanket" (p 491)
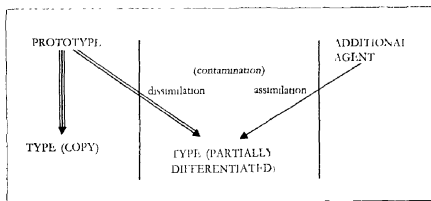
Fig. 389B

GRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF A FEW CATEGORIES (§ 309)

The thick vertical arrow (three lines) indicates the process of direct copying The two remaining arrows indicate the case where the prototype was modified under the influence of an additional agent This process is dissimilation from the point of view of the prototype and assimilation from the point of view of the additional agent The expression "contamination" is neutral with respect to this difference We use it only for cases where the influence from both sides is equally strong, so that one can no longer distinguish between a "prototype" and an "additional agent" For "contamination in its descriptive sense" see the Index of Terms — Although we preferred in many cases *adjusted* categories to *precise* categories (§ 317) we felt that a distinction between prototype and additional agent is normally possible in iconography and often possible in style — Assimilation is understood as a non-creative form-principle (= "assimilation in its widest sense" according to § 309) As such it is an instance of partial differentiation

APPENDIX

§ 330 LIST OF THE IMAGES

The list is, on the whole, self-explanatory A few introductory remarks are nevertheless necessary Whenever it was not possible to give the expected details in an abbreviated from, we have referred the reader to the relevant paragraph (in round brackets) In such cases the symbol for paragraph has been put before the figure, whereas in Column XII the figure alone is given In the case of Column VIII, reference to a particular paragraph indicates that the text of the inscription is given there Unedited inscriptions are represented by a mere "+"

Those images of Chapter 7 which belong to particular classes have been mentioned twice, but the repeated number (appearing within the respective class and interrupting the sequence of the numbers) has always been italicized "stst" (Column VII) refers to a double-image "W" (Column X) is an abbreviation of "Wall-Section" "12/H" in the same column refers to the *hall* in front of Temple No 12, whereas "12 H" (Images Nos 245-46) stands for one of the shrines near the temple "D" in the last column indicates heavy damage Five image-numbers have been used twice (9, 9A, 62, 62A, 159, 159A, 238, 238A, 296, 296A), so that the grand total is 324 and not 319 The number "98" has not been used, but on the other hand the image of Fig 270 has not been numbered — Images without illustration have been put in round brackets (Column I)

It is hoped that the list will make it easier for the reader to use the present book But this does not mean that the list has much descriptive value No doubt the reader will see at a glance that there are few seated images in the Drum Style, that Pārśva-images are numerous in the Flat-Jaṭā Class and absent in the Throne-Frame Class On the other hand, the ratio of such characteristics (*seated* and *standing* etc) is on the whole too uniform to provide a reliable key for the isolation of the stylistic units Furthermore features like the "lateral strands" and the "inscriptions" are in many cases absolutely irrelevant — the lateral strands being often almost invisible and the "inscriptions" consisting often of a few carelessly incised akṣaras

The Columns II-IV indicate theoretically which of the three types of Jinas (Ṛṣabhas - Pārśvas - others) is represented The headings are "curls — strands - hood-circle" in the case of the early-medieval period, and "no lateral strands — lateral strands — hood-circle" in the case of the medieval period If the original iconography were still intact the following key could be given.

(1) Entry in III alone Ṛṣabhas
(2) Entries in II and IV· Pārśvas
(3) Entry in II alone. Others.

However the iconography has undergone changes in the course of time so that the above key is only of limited value (§ 265)

As far as location (Column X) and state of preservation (Columns XIII-XIV) are concerned, the list is based on the conditions in 1957 Later changes (up to 1963) have been mentioned in the paragraphs quoted in Column XII

PART FIVE

APPENDIX

Image No	Curls	Strands	Hood-Circle	Miscellaneous	Seated	Standing	Inscription	Date (samvat)	Location	Fig(s)	§ (§§)	Fragment	Damaged
	Jinas												
Columns I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV
IMAGES TREATED IN CHAPTER 7													
1	C					st			No 12	7-10 394	49-57		
2				Am		st			No 12	14	58-64		
3				Am		st			No 12	9	58-64		
4				Am		st			No 12	15	58-64		
5				Am		st			No 12	16	58-64		
6				Am		st			No 16	17	58-64		
(7)				Am		st			W VIII		58		D
8	C			Bu	s				W V	20	65		D
9	C				s				W XVI	21	66		D
9A	C								(§ 67)	26	67	F	
10					s				W II	25	67	F	
11		S			s		+		W II	24	67		D
12				Ca					No 12/H	27	67		
13	C				s				No 15	23 28-31	68-71		
14					s				(§ 72)	34-35	72	F	
15	C		H			st	§ 75		No 12	36 38	73-78		
16	C					st	§ 75		No 12	39 40	73-78		
17	C		H			st	§ 75		No 12	39 40 45	73-78		
18	C		H			st	§ 75		No 12	41	73-78		
19	C		H			st	§ 75		No 12	42-43	73-78		
20		S				st	§ 75		No 12	44	73-78		
21	C		H			st	§ 75		No 12	37 45	73-78		
THE UNCOUTH CLASS (DRUM-STYLE)													
(22)	C					[st]			No 11		101	F	
23	C					st			No 12	274	101		
24		S				st			No 12	347	101		
25	C					st	+		No 12	77 78	101		
(26)	C		H			st	+		No 16		101		
(27)	C					st			W III		101		D
(28)						st			W I		101	F	
(29)						st			W VIII		101	F	
30	C					st			No 12	79	102		
31		S				st			No 12	350	102		
32		S				st			No 12	81	102		
33		S				st			No 13	82	102		D
34		S				st			(§ 102)	80	102	F	
35		S				st			No 12	81 349	102		
(36)		S				st			W VIII		102		D
(37)		S				st			(§ 102)		102	F	
38		S				st			No 12/H	83	102		
(39)	C					st			No 12/H		102		

Image No	*Curls*	*Strands*	*Hood-Circle*	*Miscellaneous*	*Seated*	*Standing*	*Inscription*	*Date (samvat)*	*Location*	*Fig(s)*	*§ (§§)*	*Fragment*	*Damaged*
	Jinas												
(40)	C					st			No 12/H		104		
(41)	C		H			st			No 12/H		104		
(42)	C		H			st			W X		104		
(43)	C		H			st			W XVI		104		
(44)	C					st			No 15		104		
(45)	C					st			No 15		104		
46	C					st			No 21	84	104		D
(47)	C					st			W VIII		104		D
(48)						st			(§ 104)		104	F	
49		S				st			No 13	85	105		
(50)		S				st			No 14		105		
(51)		S				st			W X		105		D
52		S				st	+		No 15	86	105		
53		S				st			No 17	87	105		
(54)		S				st			W XIII		105		
55		S				st			No 16	88	105		
56	C					st			No 12/H	89	106		

THE SLENDER CLASS (DRUM-STYLE)

Image No	*Curls*	*Strands*	*Hood-Circle*	*Miscellaneous*	*Seated*	*Standing*	*Inscription*	*Date (samvat)*	*Location*	*Fig(s)*	*§ (§§)*	*Fragment*	*Damaged*
57		S			s				W XII	96	107		
58		S				st			No 13	360	108		
59		S				st			No 13	93	108		
60		S				st			No 13	93 359	108		
(61)		S				st			W XIII		108		
62		S				st			W XIII	117	108		
(62A)		S				st			W X		108		D
(63)		S				st			(§ 108)		108	F	
(64)		S				st			(§ 108)		108	F	
65		S				st			No 12	94	108		
66		S				st			(§ 108)	95	108	F	
(67)		S				st			No 14		108		
(68)		S	H			st			No 14		108		
(69)		S				st			No 15		108		
(70)		S				stst			No 16		108		D
(71)		S				st			No 8		108		D

THE FAIR CLASS (DRUM-STYLE)

Image No	*Curls*	*Strands*	*Hood-Circle*	*Miscellaneous*	*Seated*	*Standing*	*Inscription*	*Date (samvat)*	*Location*	*Fig(s)*	*§ (§§)*	*Fragment*	*Damaged*
15	C		H			st	§ 75		No 12	36 38	73-78		
16	C					st	§ 75		No 12	39 40	73-78		
17	C		H			st	§ 75		No 12	39 40 45	73-78		
18	C		H			st	§ 75		No 12	41	73-78		
19	C		H			st	§ 75		No 12	42-43	73-78		
20		S				st	§ 75		No 12	44	73-78		
21	C		H			st	§ 75		No 12	37 45	73-78		
72	C					st	+		No 16	98-99	110		

Image No	Jinas: Curls	Jinas: Strands	Jinas: Hood-Circle	Miscellaneous	Seated	Standing	Inscription	Date (samvat)	Location	Fig(s)	§ (§§)	Fragment	Damaged
73	C		H			st	+		No 16	98 99A	110		
74		S				st	+		No 16	97	110		
75	C					st			W XIII	117	111		D
76	C					st			W XIII	100	111		
77	C		H			st			W XIII	100	111		
78	C					st			W I	102	111		
79		S				st			W I	103	111		
80	C					st			W XIII	100 106	111		
81	C					st			W XVI	104 105	111		
82	C					st			W IV	107	111		
83		S				st			No 12G	111-12	111		
84		S				st			W XIV	108 365	111		
85		S				st			W XI	109	111		
86		S				st			W XIII	110	111		
87	C					st			No 13	113 121	111		
88	C					st			No 13	114	111		
89	C					st			No 12	115	111		
90		S				st			W XIII	116	111		
91	C					st			W XIII	117	111		D

THE FAR EASTERN CLASS (DRUM-STYLE)

Image No	Curls	Strands	Hood-Circle	Miscellaneous	Seated	Standing	Inscription	Date (samvat)	Location	Fig(s)	§ (§§)	Fragment	Damaged
92	C					st			(§ 113)	124	113	F	
(93)	C					st			(§ 113)		113	F	
(94)	C					st			No 12		113		D
95	C					st			No 13	121-22	113		
(96)	C								W I		113	F	
97	C				s				No 12/H	123	114		D
98	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
99		S				st			No 17	362	114		
(100)		S				st			W II		114	F	

THE PARTITE-JAṬĀ CLASS (DRUM-STYLE)

Image No	Curls	Strands	Hood-Circle	Miscellaneous	Seated	Standing	Inscription	Date (samvat)	Location	Fig(s)	§ (§§)	Fragment	Damaged
(101)		S	H			st			No 17		116		
(102)		S				st			No 3		116		D
103		S	H			stst			W III	126	116		D
(104)		S	H			stst			No 3		116		
(105)		S	H			st			No 12A		116		
106		S				st			No 17	127	116		
107		S				st			No 13	85	116		
108		S				st			(§ 116)	128	116		
109		S				stst			W V	125	116		
(110)		S			s				W XV		117		
111		S			s				No 15	129-30	117		
(112)		S			s				No 12/H		117		

Image No	*Jinas*			Miscellaneous	Seated	Standing	Inscription	Date (samvat)	Location	Fig(s)	§ (§§)	Fragment	Damaged
	Curls	Strands	Hood-Circle										
(113)		S			s				No 16		117		
(114)		S			s				W XVI		117		

THE FLAT-JAṬĀ CLASS (DRUM-STYLE)

Image No	Curls	Strands	Hood-Circle	Miscellaneous	Seated	Standing	Inscription	Date (samvat)	Location	Fig(s)	§ (§§)	Fragment	Damaged
115		S			s		§ 119		No 8	132	119		
(116)		S	H		s				W XV		119		
(117)		S			s				W IV		119		
118		S	H			stst	§ 120		No 8	133	120		
(119)		S	H			stst			No 17		120		
(120)		S	H			stst			W XIII		120		
(121)		S				stst			W I		120		
(122)		S	H			st			W XVI		120		
(123)		S				st			No 14		120		
(124)		S				st			W XV		120		
(125)		S				st			W XVI		120		

UNCLASSIFIED IMAGES (DRUM-STYLE)

Image No	Curls	Strands	Hood-Circle	Miscellaneous	Seated	Standing	Inscription	Date (samvat)	Location	Fig(s)	§ (§§)	Fragment	Damaged
126		S				st			No 12/H	134	121		
127		S				st			No 12/H	134,363	121		
(128)		S				st			No 16		121		
(129)	C					st			No 16		121		
(130)		S				st			No 20		121		
(131)		S				st			No 20		121		
(132)		S				st			No 4		121		
133	C					st			No 8	186	122		
(134)	C					st			No 13		122		
(135)	C					st			W IX		122		
136	C					st			W X	136	122		
137	C					st			W X	136	122		
138	C				s				No 9	137	123		
139		S		Ba		st			No 12/H	138	123		
140		S				st			No 12C	135	123		D
(141)		S				st	+		No 14		123		
142	C					st	+		No 12/H	139	123		
143		S	H			st			No 12/H	139	123		

THE THRONE-FRAME CLASS (DRUM-LEAF STYLE)

Image No	Curls	Strands	Hood-Circle	Miscellaneous	Seated	Standing	Inscription	Date (samvat)	Location	Fig(s)	§ (§§)	Fragment	Damaged
13	C				s				No 15	23,28-31	68-71		
14					s				(§ 72)	34-35	72	F	
(144)	C				s				No 15		148		
(145)	C				s				No 15		148		
146	C				s		+		No 15	140	148		
147	C				s		+		No 15	141	148		
148a					s				(§ 148)	142	148	F	

Image No.	Curls	Strands	Hood-Circle	Miscellaneous	Seated	Standing	Inscription	Date (samvat)	Location	Fig(s)	§ (§§)	Fragment	Damaged
	Jinas												
148b					s				(§ 148)	143	148	F	
149	C				s				No 17	146	149		
(150)	C				s				W VII		149		D
(151)	C				s				W XI		149		
152	C				s				W XII	144	149		
(153)	C				s				W XI		150		
154	C				s		+		W XI	145	150		
(155)	C				s				W XI		150		
(156)	C				s				W XI		150		
(157)	C				s				W XII		150		
158	C				s				No 8	171	151		
(159)		S			s				No 23		151		
159A	C				s				No. 28	264	151		D

THE CLASS WITH MINIATURE-FIGURES (DRUM-LEAF STYLE)

Image No.	Curls	Strands	Hood-Circle	Miscellaneous	Seated	Standing	Inscription	Date (samvat)	Location	Fig(s)	§ (§§)	Fragment	Damaged
1	C					st			No 12	7-10,394	49-57		
160	C					st			No 12/H	83	153		
161a	C					st			(§ 153)	148	153	F	
161b						st			(§ 153)	149	153	F	
162	C					st			No 12/H	147,147A	153		
(163)	C					st			W X		153		D
164	C					st			(§ 153)	147B	153		
165		S				st			(§ 154)	152	154		D
166a	C		H			st			(§ 154)	150	154	F	
166b						st			(§ 154)	149	154	F	
(167)		S				st			W XIII		154		D
168		S				st			(§ 154)	151	154	F	
169	C					st	+		No 8	153	155		
170	C					st			No 12/H	154	155		D

THE SECTION OF THE PLAIN IMAGES (DRUM-LEAF STYLE)

Image No.	Curls	Strands	Hood-Circle	Miscellaneous	Seated	Standing	Inscription	Date (samvat)	Location	Fig(s)	§ (§§)	Fragment	Damaged
(171)		S				st			No 15		156		
172	C				s				No 15	156	156		
173		S				st			No 15	156	156		
174		S				st			No 15	157	156		
175	C				s				No 15	157,159	156		
176		S				st			No 15	157	156		
177		S				st			No 15	158,160	156		
178		S				st			No 15	158	156		
179	C				s				W XVI	161	156		
180	C				s				No 6	162	156		
181	C					st	§ 157		No 12G	163	157		
182		S				st	§ 157		No 14	164	157		
183		S				st			No 12G	166	157		
184		S				st			No 12G	111,165	157		

Image No	Curls	Strands	Hood-Circle	Miscellaneous	Seated	Standing	Inscription	Date (samvat)	Location	Fig(s)	§ (§§)	Fragment	Damaged
	Jinas												
185		S			s				No 12/H	89	157		
186		S				st			No 24A	168	158		
187		S	H			st			No 24A	167-68	158		
188		S				st			No 24A	167-68	158		
189		S				st			(§ 158)	169	158		
190		S			s				No 16	170	158		
191	C					st			No 8	172	159		
192	C								(§ 159)	173	159	F	
193	C					st			(§ 159)	176	159		
194	C					st			No 12C	174-75	159		
195	C					st			No 14	177	159		

THE SECTION OF THE LATE IMAGES (DRUM-LEAF STYLE)

Image No	Curls	Strands	Hood-Circle	Miscellaneous	Seated	Standing	Inscription	Date (samvat)	Location	Fig(s)	§ (§§)	Fragment	Damaged
196		S			s				W XV	178	161		
197		S			s				W XV	178	161		
198		S			s				W XV	178	161		
199		S			s				No 20	179	161		
200		S			s				W XVI	105	161		
201	C				s				W XV	178	162		
202	C				s				No 20	181	162		
203	C				s				No 14	182	162		
204	C		H		s				W IV	183	162		
(205)	C		H		s				W IV		162		
(206)	C		H		s				No 17		162		
(207)	C		H		s				W XIV	(366)	162		
208	C		H		s				W XV	206	162		
(209)		S	H		s				No 20		162		
210		S	H		s				W XII	184	162		
211			H		s				W IV	340	162	F	
(212)	C				s				No. 15		162		
213	C	S				stst			W XIII	185	163		
(214)	C	S				stst	†		W XIII		163		D
(215)	C					st			W XV		163		
(216)	C		H			st			No 8		163		
217	C					st			No 8	186	163		
(218)	C					st			No 16		163		
(219)	C					st			No 16		163		
(220)	C					st			No 16		163		
221	C					st			W XIII	185	163		
(222)		S				st			W XIII	(185)	163		
223[1]	C				s				No 15	187	174		
224[1]	C				s				(§ 174)	188	174		D
225[1]						st			(§ 174)	190	174	F	
226[1]					s		+		(§ 174)	191	174	F	

[1]) Images Nos 223-226 do *not* belong to the Section of the Late Images

Image No	No lateral strands	Lateral strands	Hood-Circle	Miscellaneous	Seated	Standing	Inscription	Date (samvat)	Location	Fig(s)	§ (§§)	Fragment	Damaged
	Jinas												
THE RESTING CLASS (HIGH-RELIEF STYLE)													
227		+			s		§ 178	1023	No 2	192	178 81		
228		+			s		§ 178	1052	No 2	193	178-81		
229		+			s		§ 179	1051	No 2	195	178-81		
230		+				st			No 2	195	178-81		
231	—				s				(§ 180)	194	178-81		D
(232)		+				st			No 4		182		
(233)		+				st			No 4		182		
(234)		+				st			(§ 182)		182		D
235		+				st			No 2	197	182		
(236)		+				st			No 2		183		
237	—		H			st	+		No 3	198	183		
238		+				st			No 21	199	183		
(238A)		+				st			No 9		183		
(239)		+				st	§ 237		No 21		184		
(240)		+				st	§ 237		No 21		184		
(241)		+				st	§ 237		No 21		184		
242		+			s		§ 185		No 20	204	185		
243		+			s		§ 236		No 21	200-01	185		
244	—					st			No 21	202-03	185		
245	—		H			st			No 12H	205	186		
246		+	H			st			No 12H	205	186		
247			H			st			No 17	87	186		
248	—			Bh		st	+	1095	W XV	206	187		
249	—	+			s		+		No 4	207	187		
(250)		+				st	§ 236		No 21		187		
THE HOVERING CLASS (HIGH-RELIEF STYLE)													
251		+			s		§ 236		No 21	211	195-96		
252		+			s				(§ 195)	212	195-96		D
253		+			s				(§ 195)	(§ 195)	195-96		
254		+			s				(§ 195)	214	195		D
255		?			s				(§ 195)	215	195		D
256		+			s				(§ 197)	216	197		
257		+			s				(§ 197)	217	197		
258		+			s				(§ 197)	218	197		
(259)		+			s				No. 3		198		D
260		+			s				No 3	219	198		D
(261)		+			s				No 3		198		D
262		+				st			No 3	219	198		
(263)		+				st			No 3		198		D
(264)		+				st			No 3		198		D
(265)		+				stst	+		No 19		199		

Image No	*No lateral strands*	*Lateral strands*	*Hood-Circle*	*Miscellaneous*	*Seated*	*Standing*	*Inscription*	*Date (samvat)*	*Location*	*Fig(s)*	*§ (§§)*	*Fragment*	*Damaged*
	Jinas												
266					s				No 19	220	199	F	
(267)		+				stst	+		No 19		199		
268					s		§ 236		No 19	221	199	F	
269		+			s				No 2	222	200		D
270		+			s				No 8	223	200		D
271		+			s				No 11	224	200		
(272)		+				st			No 4		201		
(273)		+				st			No 4		201		
274	—		H			st			No 13	85	201		
275		+	H			st			No 17	225	201		
(276)		+				st			No 21		201		

THE NEW CLASS (HIGH-RELIEF STYLE)

Image No	*No lateral strands*	*Lateral strands*	*Hood-Circle*	*Miscellaneous*	*Seated*	*Standing*	*Inscription*	*Date (samvat)*	*Location*	*Fig(s)*	*§ (§§)*	*Fragment*	*Damaged*
277	—					st	+		No 28	228	208-09		D
278	—					st			No 28	229	208-09		D
279	–					st			No 28	230,230A	208-09		
280	—		H			st			No 4	231-32	210		
281		+	H			st			No 17	225-26	210		
(282)	—					stst			No 4		210		
(283)		+				st	+		No 9		210		
(284)		+				st			No 9		210		
(285)		+				st			No 19		210		
(286)		+				st			No 19		210		
287		+				st			W XII	235-36	210		
(288)		+	H			st			W XIII		210		
289		?				st			W IV	234	210		D
(290)		?				st	+		W IV		210		D
291	—					st	§ 246	1135	No 20	237	211		
(292)		?				st			No 20		211		
(293)		?				st			No 20		211		
(294)		?				st	§ 246		No 20		211		
(295)		?				st	§ 246	1136	No 20		211		
296	—		H		s				No 25	238	212		
296A		?	H		s				(§ 212)	243	212		
297					s		§ 236		No 2	240	213	F	
298	—				s				W V	239	213		D
299		+			s		+		W XII	239A	213		
300		+			s				No 4	231-33	214		
301		+			s		+	1105	No 11	241-42	215		

THE GODDESSES IN TEMPLE NO 19

Image No	*No lateral strands*	*Lateral strands*	*Hood-Circle*	*Miscellaneous*	*Seated*	*Standing*	*Inscription*	*Date (samvat)*	*Location*	*Fig(s)*	*§ (§§)*	*Fragment*	*Damaged*
302				S		st	§ 243		No 19	244,255	Ch 14		D
303				P		st	§ 244	1126	No 15	247	Ch 14	F	
304				(§221)		st	§ 245		No 19	248	Ch 14		

Image No	Jinas: No lateral strands	Jinas: Lateral strands	Jinas: Hood-Circle	Miscellaneous	Seated	Standing	Inscription	Date (samvat)	Location	Fig(s)	§ (§§)	Fragment	Damaged
305				C	s		§ 245		No 19	250	Ch 14		D
306				(§245)	s		§ 245		No 19	255A,256	Ch 14		D

THE GEOMETRICAL CLASS (HIGH-RELIEF STYLE)

Image No	No lateral strands	Lateral strands	Hood-Circle	Miscellaneous	Seated	Standing	Inscription	Date (samvat)	Location	Fig(s)	§ (§§)	Fragment	Damaged
307		+				st	+	120(7)	No 3	257	227		D
308		?				st	+	1176	W V	20	227		D
309		?				st			W IV	107	227		D
(310)		+				st	+		No 20		227		D
311		+				st			No 25	258	227		
312		?				st			No 26	259	227		D
(313)		?			s				No 3		228		D
314		+			s				No 3	261-62	228		
(315)		+				st			W II		229		D
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§ 332 THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE IMAGES DRUM-STYLE

The Drum-Style (Images Nos 15-143) *Chapters 7 and 9*

The Uncouth Class (Images Nos 22-56) *§§ 99-106*

Colossal Images Characteristics (or "motifs") I (head etc) and II (attendants etc)

Colossal Images Characteristic II

Images less than life-size Characteristics I and II

Images less than life-size Characteristic II.

The Slender Class (Images Nos 57-71) *§§ 107-08* Characteristic I (head) compulsory, characteristic II (slender body) optional

The Fair Class (Images Nos 15-21, 72-91) *§§ 73-78, 109-11* Characteristic I (leaf-circlet) optional,characteristic II (cāmara-bearers) also optional but normally present

The Far Eastern Class (Images Nos 92-100) *§§ 112-14*

Uncontaminated Characteristics I (exotic physiognomy) and II (curls)

Contaminated. Characteristic II partly missing

Partite-Jatā Class (Images Nos 101-114) *§§ 115-17* Characteristic I (partite jatā) compulsory, characteristic II (physiognomy of Fig 127) optional

Flat-Jatā Class (Images Nos 115-125) *§§ 118-20* Characteristic· flat jatā

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§ 333. THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE IMAGES DRUM-LEAF STYLE AND HIGH-RELIEF STYLE

The Drum-Leaf Style (Images Nos 1, 13, 14, 144-222) *Chapters 7 and 10*

The Throne-Frame Class (Nos 13, 14, 144-159A) *§§ 68-72, 147-151*

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The Section of the Plain Images (Nos 171-195) *§§ 156-159*

The Section of the Late Images (Nos 196-222 -- selected specimens) *§§ 160-163.*

Intermediate Forms between the Drum-Leaf Style and the H -R Style(Nos 223-226) *§ 174*

The High-Relief Style (Nos 227-319) *Chapters 11-17*

The Resting Class (Nos 227-250) *Chapter 11*

The Hovering Class (Nos 251-276) *Chapter 12*

The New Class (Nos 277-301) *Chapter 13*

The Geometrical Class (Nos 307-319) *Chapter 15*

Tritirthikā-Type *§ 231*

Frieze-Slab Type *§ 231*

Five Goddesses (Nos 302-306) *Chapter 14*

UNITS OF THE CLASSIFICATION

Period
Style
Class—Section
Group—Set
Isolated Image

Central India
Deogarh and the Surrounding Area
Deogarh

For details refer to §§ 97 (sequence to the left) and 7 (sequence to the right) "Period" refers in most cases either to the two early-medieval styles (Drum-Style, Drum-Leaf Style) or to the single medieval style (High-Relief Style), hence "early-medieval period" and "medieval period"

§ 334. LIST OF FIGS. SHOWING DATED OBJECTS

Figs. 5 (samvat 919), 20 (1176), 192 (1023), 193 (1052), 195 (1051), 196 (1051), 206 (1095), 237 (1135), 241/42 (1105), 247 (1126), 249 (1133), 251 (1245), 252 (1242), 254 (1091), 257 (1207), 267 (1121), 269 (1207), 270 (1333), 289 ("973 A D"), 290 (1105), 291 (1120), 292 (1133), 382 (932)

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Burnier, Raymond *Figs 7 A, 8 A, 215* (published here for the first time)
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Seckel, D, Buddhistische Kunst Ostasiens, Stuttgart 1957, Pl 23 *Fig 119*
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"Zimmer", Pl 102 *Fig 273*

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Bachhofer, L, Die fruhindische Plastik, München 1929, Pl 74 *Fig 334*
Banerji, R D, The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara, Calcutta 1924 (= MASI No 16), Pl 7b *Fig 316*, Pl 6b *Fig 320*
Banerji, R D, Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture, Delhi 1933, Pl 30a *Fig 336*
Barrett, D, A Guide to the Buddhist Caves of Aurangabad, Bombay 1957, Pl 13 *Fig 301*
"Berlin" KH 46 (18) *Fig 344*
"Bhopal" 336/54 *Fig 388*
"Coomaraswamy" Fig 171 *Fig 356*
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Seidenstucker, K , Die Buddha-Legende in den Skulpturen des Ānanda-Tempels zu Pagan, Hamburg 1916, Fig 16 *Fig 337*
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"Zimmer", Pl 135 *Fig 313*, Pl 243 *Fig 329 — 387*

§ 337. REMARKS ON THE MAP (*Fig 390*)

The map of Central India is based on the "1 1,000,000 *Central India Province Map, Second Edition*" (1948) The location of some of the smaller places has been traced with the help of special maps and village lists The map includes only district capitals (underlined) and places mentioned in the text The area belongs to three different States, viz Madhya Pradesh (Capital Bhopal), Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan Places in brackets are situated in the vicinity of the places appearing immediately above them (e g Charchoma near Kotah)

Certain place names occur very frequently "Deogarh" (three places bearing this name in the Narwar District alone), "Indor", and "Udaipur" (Udayapur) are some of the most obvious examples In the present monograph these names refer invariably to the following places Deogarh to the south-west of Lalitpur, Indor to the north-west of Chanderi, and Udaipur to the south-west of Bina

With the kind permission of the Editor of *Lalit Kalā* we have reproduced the sketch-map "S W Rajasthan" from an article by R C Agrawala (*Lalit Kalā* 6), as references to places in that area occur rather frequently in our text

The following places are mentioned in the text but not given in the maps · *Baroli* (30 miles south of Kotah), *Devangana* (Abu Hills), *Harshagiri* (near Sikar, Northern Rajasthan), *Malaheda* (near Manasa, see arrow on the left margin of the main map), *Mankuwar* (near Allahabad), *Nadia* (former Sirohi State), *Nokhas* (Etah District), *Pithaura* (former Nagod State), *Vasantagarh* (Sirohi State) Places not falling in the range of the two maps are mentioned but rarely, some instances being *Akota* (on the western outskirts of the city of Baroda), *Osia* (30 miles north-north-west of Jodhpur), *Pallu* (near Bikaner), *Rajim* and *Sirpur* (both in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh)

A vivid description of Deogarh is contained in M S Vats' monograph on the Gupta temple at Deogarh (*MASI* 70, Delhi 1952, p 1) We reproduce the text with the permission of the publisher as a supplement to § 16

Deogarh is situated 24°32′ N and 78°15′ E, close to the south-western limit of the Lalitpur Sub-Division of the Jhānsi district in a semi-circular bend overlooking the right bank of the Betwā (Vetravatī) It is 19 miles from Lalitpur and 7 miles from Jakhlaun, both being stations on the Central Railway From the former, it can be approached by a motor or *tonga* over a fair-weather District Board road of which the last four miles from Saipura to Deogarh are maintained by the Forest Department, but at Jakhlaun no vehicle, other than a bullock cart, is available There is a Forest Rest House at Deogarh adjoining which the Jaina community has built a spacious *dharamśālā* for the use of pilgrims and others Flowing for the most part in a rocky bed, the Betwā forms a series of deep pools and picturesque cataracts "The narrow

gorge where it forces its way through the Vindhyan hills and the magnificent sweep it makes below the steep sandstone cliff which is surmounted by the fort of Deogarh is a scene of striking beauty" [*Jhansi District Gazetteer*, p 10]. Here, along the foot of the rocky headland which constitutes the right bank of the Betwā, the plain falls into a well-marked depression made by the drainage of this area Across this depression, at the western edge of the elevated plain stands the solitary Gupta Temple, locally known as *Sāgar Maṛh* from the square, rock-cut well in front Girt by hills on the south, and still smaller ones to west and north its situation, dominating the depression, is a singularly picturesque one Close proximity of the river and extremely well-wooded nature of the landscape around provide a beautiful setting to this gem of Gupta architecture Moreover, it lay on the highway of imperial communications during the Gupta period which connected Deogarh with Pawāyā in the north and with Eran, Bhilsā, Udayagiri and Sānchī in the south, thence with Ujjain and Bāgh to west and south-west and again through Jhānsi and Kānpur with Allahabad, Banaras and Pātaliputra (Patna).

§ 338. INDEX OF TERMS

(The references are to pages)

Basically the Index contains the material of §§ 10-14 in a consolidated form, but terms explained in other parts of the book have also been included Terms which are not listed in the Index will normally be found in the following paragraphs and chapters §§ 91-92 (form-principles), Chapter 23 (form-principles), Chapters 25-26 (various observations on the method), §§ 332-333 (units of the classification) Additional information (method of numbering, place-names etc) is given in §§ 7-9, 330, and 337 The references are short only the first page of a discussion is quoted, cases where a term has been employed but not explained are omitted, and in the case of the drawings the reference is always to the page with the explanatory text (and not to the page with the drawing)

Occasionally new observations have been included in the present monograph in a supplementary manner (instead of thoroughly revising the relevant portion of the manuscript) In such cases the Index serves the same purpose as the cross-references within the text

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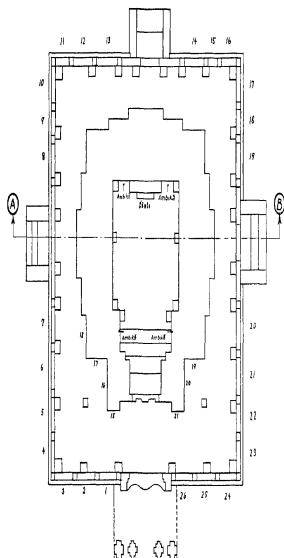
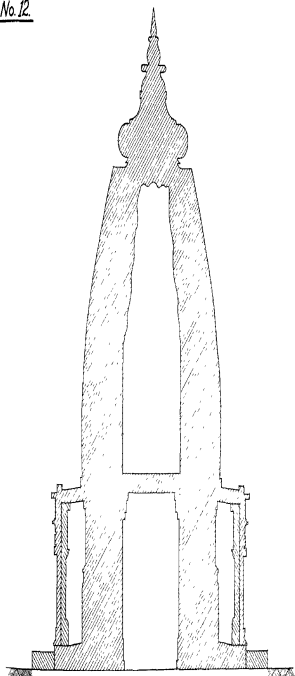
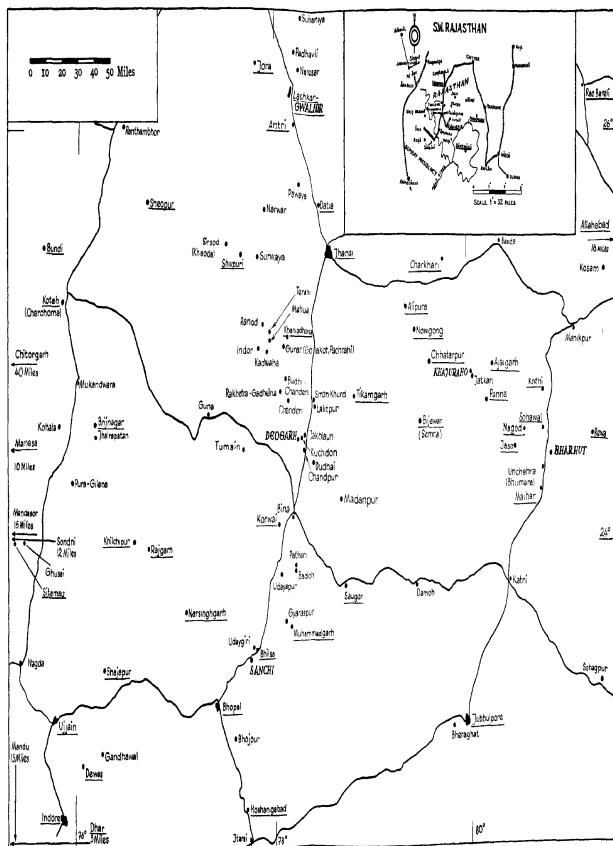
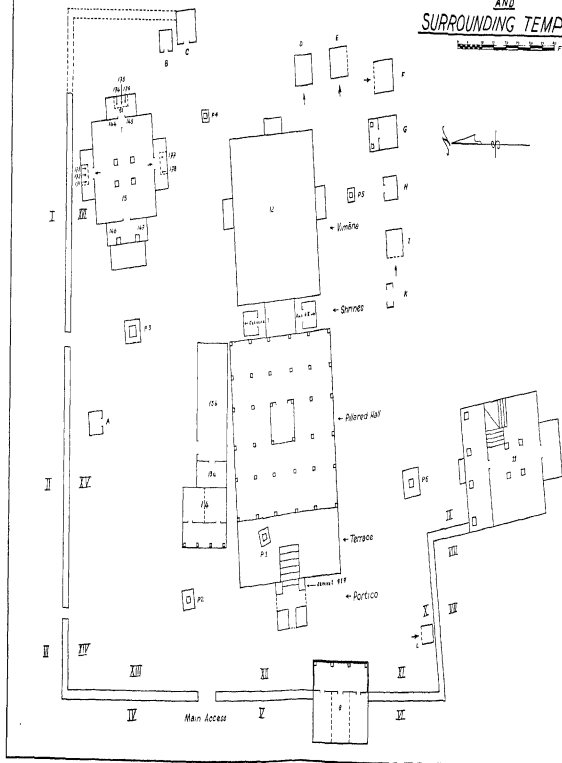
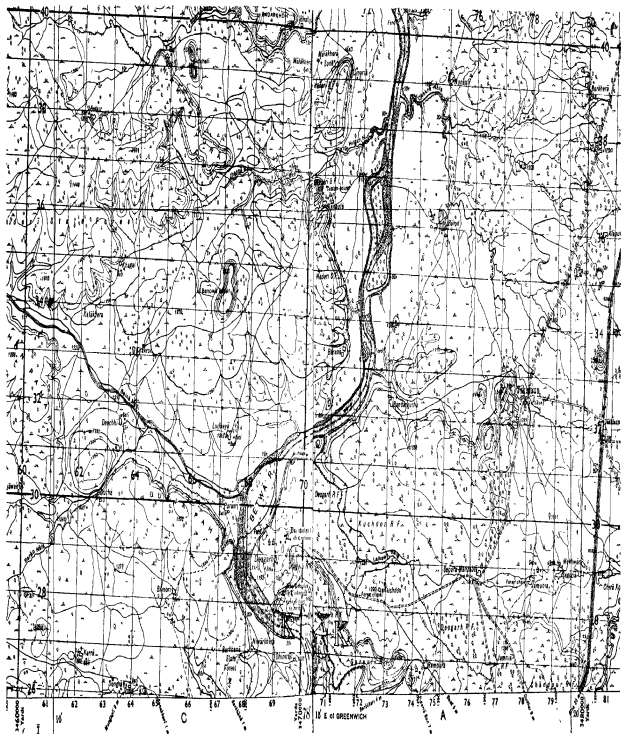
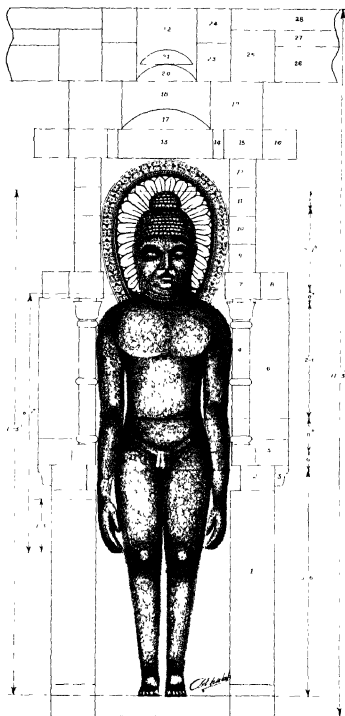
Fig 393 Temple No 12 — Chapters 3 and 5.

Bruhn, The Jina Images of Deogarh

Fig 390 Central India and South-West Rajasthan

Map of South-West Rajasthan after R. C. Agrawala

Fig 392 Site plan — Chapters 3 and 5.

Fig. 391. One Inch Sheet showing Deogarh, Kuchdon, Jakhlaun (Copyright Surveyor General of India)

TEMPLE No 12 MAIN-IDOL

FEET

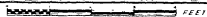



Fig 394 Image No 1 Chapter 7